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COLONISING ENTERPRISES OF
SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

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GILBERTVS cives alium deduxit in orbem.
 Quò CHRISII imbueret barbaria colla - 3

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

THE VOYAGES AND
COLONISING ENTERPRISES
OF
SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT

With an Introduction and Notes

by

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CHAPTER V

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S FINAL PROJECT 1580-84

With noble Gilbert next comes Hoard who took in hand
To clear the course scarce known into the Newfound land.
And view'd the plenteous Seas and fishful Havens where
Our neighboring Nations since have stored them every year.

DRAYTON, *Poly-olbion*, song XIX, ll. 303-6

72. 7 APRIL 1580. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT ENTERS INTO A
BOND FOR THE GOOD BEHAVIOUR OF THE CREW OF THE
*Squirrel*¹.

DIE Jovis vii^o die predicti mensis Aprilis Coram D: *Recognitio*
Davido Lewes legum doctore Judice &c. in edibus suis *D: Hum-*
&c. Presente me William Harewarde Registore com- *fridi*
paruit D: Humfridus Gilbert miles ac recognovit se debere *Gilberte*
Serenissimo Domino nostre Regine summam quingentarum *militis.*
librarum monete Anglie solvendum eidem domino nostre
Regine heredibus vel successoribus suis primo die futuri mensis
Junii Et nisi &c.

The condicion of this Recognizance is suche That where the
said Sir Humfreye hath equipped and sett unto the seas a
certain Frigott of his called the Squirrell of the burthen of viii
tonnes or thereabouts under the conduction of Simon Fer-
nandes² having with him the number of tenn men or there-
abouts to sayle uppon a viadage for a discoverye to be made bye
the said Fernandes, whereunto the said Sir Humfreye is autho-
rised by her Majestes lettres patentes / Yf the said Simon Fer-

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Book of Acts 1578-83. HCA 3/18.

² The copy of his map, described on p. 51 above, has the inscription :—
'The Cownterfet of Mr Fernando Simon his Sea carte which he lent unto my
Master at Mortlake Anno 1580 November 20. The same Fernando Simon
is a Portugale, and borne in Tercera being one of the Iles called AZORES.'

nandes and cumpanye be in all his said viadge of good behaviour towards her Majestes subjectes, and the subjectes of other Princes with whom her Majestye is in league and amitye, and doe not robbe nor spoile eanye duringe the said viadge The &c. Or else &c.

H. Gilbertes

Recognovit coram D: Lewes Jwdice die et anno suprascriptis
D: Lewes

73. 9 JANUARY 1581. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II¹.

The Earl of Leicester has arranged with the Queen [for a new expedition by Drake] . . . and that Conols [Knollys], son of the Treasurer of the Household, the one who fitted out ships to plunder on the Indies route two years ago, is to winter with six ships in the port of San Julian on the Brazil coast, which is by the mouth of the strait of Magellanes, and pass thence, under orders from Drake and with other mariners who had been with him there, to the South Sea, robbing all he can, and thence making a course to join Drake in the Malucos and return home.

Onofre Gilberto [Humphrey Gilbert], who also fitted out ships with Conols, is to go with six other ships to Cuba and there to fortify a suitable place, sallying forth in search of any fleets that leave either Santo Domingo or neighbouring islands as well as those of Nueva España and Peru. In association with this they wish Jorbirger [Frobisher] to make again his former navigation to search out a passage to go to Catay and to the Malucos by that way, as according to the opinion of Drake, notwithstanding the ice and the inconveniences which Jorbirger found in it, it appears to them necessary that there must be some strait or passage. And, although it cannot reasonably be imagined that they will not have great difficulties in carrying out such designs, the success of Drake in his expedition causes them to make light of them. If your majesty instructs me to interview the Queen I shall speak to her about these ships being got ready.

¹ Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xci, 535. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1580-6, no. 61.

There could be no better way of putting a stop to these activities than for your Majesty to order that, if any of their ships is captured on the Indies route or puts into any port, not a man is to be left alive—but all sent to the bottom.

74. 11 JULY 1581. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM¹.

Sir greate exstremitye enforcethe me moste humblie and earnestlie to crave your honnors speedie furtherans of me, for the smaill some of monye whiche remayneth dewe for the service of her Majestie withe three Shippes of mine in Irelande; whiche weere stayed and employed ther, by the Lords Justeces Arestes and not by my shuet: I did losse by yt, above tow thowsande powndes; by meanes that I was stayed here, and cowlde not be permitted to retorne into Irelande, to save my shippes, and goodes: whiche were stollen, and carryed awaye, as your Honnor and my Lordes doe very well knowe. My reconinge is sett downe and perfected, and allowed, under the Awditors hande of Irelande, as you knowe. And my Lord Deputie that nowe is, wrotte his lettres to my Lords of the Counsell longe sythens, for my paymente; but as yet I can gett nothinge. A miserable thinge it ys, that I poore man havinge served her Majestie in warres, and peace, above Seven and twentie year shoulde be nowe subjecte to daylye arestes, executions, and owtlawreis; yea and forside to gadge and sell my wyffes clothes from her backe, whoe browghte me so good a lyvinge. The Queenes Majestie hathe allwaies said, that her highenes woulde releve me, and shall I nowe sterve (without her highnes privitie) for wante of my owne. Her Majestie did never yet denye me anye thinge that I ever asked; althowghe I never enjoyed anye thinge to proffytt, that ever her Majestie gave me. So that my casse is thus evill, (not thorowe wante of her Majestes most gracyous, and bowntefull consideracion in my good, but thorowe my evill happe otherwaies. Therefore my moste humble shute is, that your honnor will wouchesaffe withoute delaye, to

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/149, 66. Printed by Gosling, pp. 160-1.

present this my pyttefull petition to her Majesties own consideration; whoe I am suer will never detain my owne from me, neyther yet denye me anye other reasonable shute for my relieffe, that have served her highness from A boye, to the age of white heeres.

Minster in Sheppey, the xith of July, 1581.

Your Honnors moste homblie to commaunde,

H Gylberte¹

Addressed:—To the righte honorable Sir francys Walsingham knighte cheaffe secretorie to her Majestie.

Endorsed:—11 July. 1581. From Sir Humfrey Gylbert To enforme hir Majestie of the present necessitie he is in &c. that she may the more willingly signe his warrant for his money.

75. 22 OCTOBER 1581. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT ORDERED BY THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO DELIVER UP HIS PATENT².

Uppon informacion delivered unto the Lordes that Sir Humfrey Gilbert, knight, had made certen deputacions for the transporting of vyctuell oute of the Realme into the partes beyond the seas, grounding the same his deputacions uppon the authoritye of her Majesties Letters Patentes graunted unto him certen yeres paste in consideration of some discoveries and conquestes of contries which he pretended then to enterprise, the benefitt of which his Letters Patentes for transporting of vyctuell was intended for such contries which he should conquer and inhabite as aforesaid; forasmuche as his intended vyoges and discoveries, &c., have taken no effecte, and that therefore he cannot justlie clayme the benefitt and commoditye of her Majesties said Letters Patentes, their Lordships dyd this daye order that the said Sir Humfrey should be sent for and caused to deliver in the said Letters Pattentes, and further to deliver a note unto Mr Secretarie of the names of such persones unto whome he hathe made the aforesaid deputacions, that lyke order maie be taken for the staie and revoking of them accordingly.

¹ Holograph signature. The body of the letter is not in Gilbert's hand.

² *Acts of the Privy Council* 1581-2, p. 240.

76. 11, 15 MARCH 1582. EXTRACTS FROM RICHARD MADOX'S DIARY¹.

11 March. f. 9. I supt in botulph lane at mrs Lucars² She hath 3 sones Ciprian mark John and her dowghter mary who plays well on ye lute she gave me a peece of bark which hir cozin Emanuel yt went with sir francis drake sent hir she is a very honest gentlewoman. /

15 March. f. 9v³. . . . being with mr Ciprian lucar he browght me to his neybour mr Ashley who maketh plainge cards this man is of shropshire he had prepared beads & other devises to venter with Sir humpheri gilbert who is now abowt an other viag he told me yt he thowght to se when a letter dated at London ye first of May shold be delyvered at China before mid-somer folowing et econtra for he vowched upon report as he sayd of ye yndians yt ther was a saylable passage over america between 43 and 46 degrees throe which he sayd sir franses drak cam home fro ye moluccas.

77. 19 APRIL 1582. P. H. TO [LORD BURGHLEY?]⁴.

there is a mutter yng among ye Papystes y^t sir humfraye gylberde goithe to seeke a new founde lande, syr george Peckham, & Syr Thomas gerarde goyth with hym

I have harde it saide among ye Papystes, y^t they hope it wyll prove ye beste Journeye for england y^t was made these fortie yeres. / . . .

P. H.

1582. aprill ye. 19./

Endorsed:—19 April 1582 secret advertisements.

¹ Richard Madox, 'Diary'. BM, Cotton MS. Appendix XLVII.

² Wife of Emanuel Lucar, Merchant-Taylor of London, Fellow of New College, who was responsible for the transmission of Thorne documents to Dee and Hakluyt. See G. C. M. Smith and P. H. Reaney, *The Family of Withypoll*, Walthamstow Antiquarian Society Publications, no. 34 (1936), pp. 27, 38-9; and Taylor, *Hakluyts*, pp. 25, 173.

³ Printed by Taylor, *Early Tudor Geography, 1485-1583*, pp. 282-3.

⁴ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/153, 14. Extract.

78. 24 APRIL 1582. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT IN SOUTHAMPTON¹.

I supt at ye Dolphin [in Southampton] with ye merchants whether came sir Humphrey Gilbert & was offended because they had bowght luke wards barque.

79. 26 APRIL 1582. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II².

I have had news today that the ships, which I wrote to your Majesty were ready to sail for the Malucos, have now left, and also that Onxiginberto [Humphrey Gilbert] is fitting out three more with which to go to Florida and settle there in the place where Estucle [Stukeley] was and Juan Robero [Jean Ribault], (the man whom Pero Melendez beheaded), with the French. When he asked for the Queen's assistance he was answered in council that he might go, and, that when he had landed and fortified, the Queen would send 10,000 men to conquer the territory and safeguard the port. Likewise there is news that Jorbirger [Frobisher] is hurrying to fit out other three ships to go to the Malucos, asserting that he has to pass the South Sea by the islands which make the strait of Magellanes before those ships which have set out, the which have not been augmented in personnel and munitions from what I have written to your Majesty.

80. 1 MAY 1582. EXTRACT FROM RICHARD MADOX'S DIARY³.

[At the muster of Fenton's expedition at Southampton there were thirty men above the complement of 200 because Richard Hawkins said they would get food enough for them in the Indies and] because ye Elizabeth was bowght for burden sake & ye frigot sold for 40 li. to sir Humphrey Gilbert therfor for his supply.

¹ Richard Madox, 'Diary'. BM, Cotton MS. Appendix XLVII, f. 15v.

² Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xcii, 358. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1580-6, no. 254.

³ Richard Madox, 'Diary'. BM, Cotton MS. Appendix XLVII, f. 17.

81. 4 MAY 1582. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II¹.

[Fenton's two ships have returned owing to bad weather.] Ougi Gamberto [Humphrey Gilbert] continues to fit out the ships of which I have written to your Majesty, and Jorbirger [Frobisher] is ready to set out with two ships which he is sure will arrive there before the others.

82. 21 MAY 1582. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II².

Seeing the number of English who cross to Flanders every day and the barefaced way they are again fitting out ships for the Malucos and Florida I asked an audience of the Queen. [He was put off and Elizabeth said she could receive him only as a private individual until she had received satisfaction for Spanish intervention in Ireland. He asks for instructions.] With regard to the matter on which I have asked an audience, namely the excesses committed by the English in Galicia, she thinks she has given me adequate satisfaction through the papers sent by Walsingham which he says came to him from France and that it was the French who did it!

83. 6 JUNE 1582. AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, SIR GEORGE PECKHAM AND SIR THOMAS GERRARD³.

Articles tripartite Indented of Agreement made concluded and agreed upon the sixte daye of June in the foure and twentieth yere of the reygne of our soveraigne ladye Elizabeth by the grace of god Quene of England Fraunce and Ireland defendor of the faythe &c. Betwene Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton in

*Scriptum
inter
Gilbert
Militem
&
Gerrard
Militem
& alios.*

¹ Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xcii, 371. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1580-6, no. 258.

² Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xcii, 389-91. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1580-6, no. 268.

³ Close Roll, 24 Elizabeth, part 6, C 54/1126, m. 5-6. The original agreement is Brudenell MS. O. i. 10. It is in a paper book of thirteen folios, each of which has the autograph initial 'H G' at the foot. It is written in a clerk's hand with numerous minor alterations by Sir Humphrey Gilbert. In its corrected form it collates exactly with the enrolled version, while the corrections are merely matters of wording.

the countye of Devon knyghte on the first partye And Sir Thomas Gerrard of the Brynne in the Countye of Lancaster knyghte on the second partie And Sir George Peckham of Denham in the Countye of Buckingham knight on the third partie as followeth videlicet¹

Inprimis whereas our saide Soveragnc ladye the Quenes Majestie by her graces lettres patentes under the greate Scale of England bearinge date at Westminster the eleaventh day of June in the twentieth yere of her Majesties reigne hathc gyven and graunted unto the said Sir humfrey Gilberte his heires and assignes forever free libertie from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter forever to discover serche fynde out and vewe suche Remote heathen and Barbarous landes Countreyes and Territories not actuallye possessed of any christen prince or people as to hym hys heires and assignes and to every or any of them shall seme good And the same to have holde occupye and enjoy to hym hys heires and assignes forever withall comodities Jurisdictions and realties both by sea and lande And did lykwyse by the said lettres pattentes for her Majestye her heires and successors gyve full power and auctoritie to the said Sir humfrey hys heires and assignes and every of them that he and they and every or any of them shall and maye at every tyme and tymes hereafter have take and leade in the saide voiage to travill thetherward or to inhabite their wyth hym and them and every or any of them suche and so many of her majestes subiectes as shall willingly accompany hym and them and every or any of them with sufficient shippinge and furniture for their transportacions So that none of the saide persons or any of them be suche as after the makinge of the saide lettres pattentes shoulde be speciallye restrayned by our saide soveraigne ladye her heires and successors The statutes or actes of Parliamente made agaynst fugityves or agaynst suche as shall departe remayne or contynue out of her Majesties Realme of England without licence or any other acte statute lawe or matter whatsoever to the contrarye in any wyse notwithstandinge as by the saide lettres pattentes amonge other grauntes articles and liberties

¹ In margin, 'this book is agreed upon & Ingrossed for thilandres and xv^{cm} acres of ground'. Brudenell MS. O. i. 10.

therin conteyned more at large appeareth Nowe the saide Sir humfrey Gilbert as well for the more spedye executinge of her Majesties saide graunte and the Inlargement of her Majesties Domynions and government and also for the better incoragement of the saide Sir Thomas and Sir George and their Assosiates in so worthie and comendable an enterprise And for their sure warrant to prosecute the same orderlye accordinge to the lawes and statutes of this realme And in consideracion that the said Sir Thomas and Sir George have disbursed divers sommes of money and adventured the same as principall adventurers with the said Sir Humfrey towards his nowe intended vyoge for discoverye and habytyng of certeyne partes of America so ment by hym or hys assignes to be discovered As also for dyvers other waightye and good consideracions hym the saide Sir humfrey especially movinge for hym hys heires successors and assignes and every of them doth covenante promyse and graunte to and with the saide Sir Thomas Gerrarde and Sir George Peckham their heires executors admynistrators and assignes and to and with the heires executors admynistrators and assignes of every and eyther of them by their presentes That they the saide Sir Thomas and Sir George and every or eyther of them their or eyther of their heires executors admynistrators or assignes Assosiates Adventurers and people and every of them shall and maye at all tymes hereaftêr and from tyme to tyme forever have and enjoye full power and free libertie and auctoritye by vertue of the saide lettres pattentes to discover serche fynde out and vewe all those landes and Isles lyinge or beinge upon that parte of America betwene the Cape of Florida and Cape Bryton and the [m. 6] Seas thereunto adjoynynge And the same landes and Isles so by the said Sir Thomas and Sir George or eyther of them their or eyther of their heires executors admynistrators or assignes or by their or eyther of their Assosiates Adventurers or people serched vewed discovered and founde out as aforesaide that yt shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Sir Thomas and Sir George and every or eyther of them their and every of their heires assignes adventurers and assosiates and every of them to have holde occupye use and enjoye to their and every of their owne onlye use and uses forever two

Isles or Islandes of any foure by them to be taken or named beinge noe parte of the nowe supposed contynent at their choise out of the landes and Seas so discovered within three monethes nexte after the Aryvall of the saide Sir Thomas or Sir George or any of their assignes or pryncipall Assosiates into those Remote heathen Countreyes or Territories or att any convenyent tyme before or after suche tyme as the saide Sir humfrey his heires successors or assignes shall make hys or their first choise of two of the said Foure Islandes And also so moche and suche quantetye of the said landes within the supposed contynent lyinge as nere unto the saide two Islandes as conveniently maye be as shall amounte to the nomber and quantetye of fyftene hundreth thowsand acres of grounde every acre to conteyne foure pole in bredth fortye pole in length and to allowe twentye foure foote to every pole with full power and auctoritie to inhabite people and manure the same Islandes landes and Countries together withall Jurisdiccons privyleges liberties benyfittes comodities and emolumentes whatsoever for the governynge inhabiting disposinge peopleinge and manuringe the premysses and every parte and parcell therof holdinge the saide two Islandes and fyftene hundreth thowsand acres of lande of the saide Sir humfrey his heyres successors and assignes by fealtye in free soccage and not otherwyse To have holde and enjoye the saide two Isles and all the saide fyftene hundreth thowsande acres of grounde comodities Jurisdiccions and liberties and all other the premysses and every parte thereof with their appurtenaunces unto the saide Sir Thomas and Sir George their heires and assignes to the onelye use of them and every of them forever yeldinge and payinge unto the saide Sir humfrey hys heires successors or assignes for every of the saide two Isles yerelye after they shalbe possessed and manured by the saide Sir Thomas or Sir George their heires or assignes ten poundes sterlinge and two fifte partes of all the golde sylver perle and precyous stones their growinge founde and gotten out of which the Quenes Majesties parte reserved by the saide lettres pattentes is to be aunswered and allowed for all dutyes servyces and demandes whatsoever And yealdinge and payinge to the saide Sir humfrey Gilbert hys heires successors or

assignes yerelye for every thowsand acres of grounde of the saide nowe supposed contynent mencioned as aforesaide after the first seaven yeres which the same shalbe actuallye possessed and manured by the saide Sir Thomas or Sir George their heires assignes or Assosiates fyftene pence and two fyfte partes all the golde sylver pearle and precious stones there growinge founde and gotten out of the which the Quenes Majesties parte reserved by the said lettres patentes to be allowed for all duties servyces and demaundes. Item the saide Sir humfrey for the consideracion aforesaide doth further covenante promyse and graunte for hym selfe hys heires successors and assignes and every of them to and with the saide Sir Thomas and Sir George their heires and assignes and every of them by theis presentes that they the saide Sir Thomas and Sir George their heires assignes Assosiates Adventurers and people and every of them shall or may have and enjoy free libertie to trade and traffique into all the landes Isles and Countries and every parte thereof which the saide Sir humfrey hys heires successors or assignes shall possesse by vertue of the Quenes Majesties saide lettres patentes or hys graunte thereof And also that they the saide Sir Thomas and Sir George their heires and assignes and every of them shall have the execucion of all lawes Eccliasticall [*sic*] temporall politique marshall and Civell both Maryn and others and of every of them as well within the saide two Islandes and the precynct of the saide fyftene hundreth thowsand acres of the said supposed contynente and also upon the Sea costes so far as the saide landes and Isles shall extend. Item the said Sir humfrey for hym selfe hys heires successors assignes and every of them dothe further covenante promyse and graunte to and with the saide Sir Thomas and Sir George their heires assignes and Assosiates and every of them by theis presentes That he the saide Sir humfrey shall doe hys best endeavor to procure and obteyne her Majesties leave and good lykinge that all those whoe hath or shall adventure with the saide Sir humfrey Sir Thomas Sir George or any of them and whose names shalbe entred into a Register booke for that purpose to be made and kepte and shalbe willinge to travell into any of the saide remote Countryes maye freelye passe into those Countries their to remayne or

Retorne backe at his or theire or any of theire will and pleasure And also that he the saide Sir humfrey hys heires successors or assignes shall and will from tyme to tyme exonerate and discharge or sufficiently save harmeles the saide Sir Thomas and Sir George theire heires Assosiates Adventurers and assignes and every of them of and from the Quenes Majestye her heires successors and assignes for and concernynge the payment of the Ewer of golde and silver and other duities services and demaundes to her Majestie her heires and successors by the saide lettres pattentes payable and reserved And lykewyse shall and will make and fynishe suche further and better assurance and assurances of the premysses unto the saide Sir Thomas and Sir George theire heires and assignes forever within three monethes nexte after the first and nexte retorne of the saide Sir humfrey or hys assignes or consortes Adventurers or Assosiates from the saide vyoge of discoverye by the saide Sir humfrey nowe Intended in suche manner and sorte as by the saide Sir Thomas and Sir George their heires or assignes or any of them or the learned counsell of them or any of them shalbe reasonable and lauffully devised and required¹ In witnes whereof the saide parties to theis presente Articles Interchaungeable have sett their Seales yeven the daye and yere first above written.

Irrotulatur xxiii die Junii Anno predicto. Et memorandum quod vicesimo die Junii Anno suprascripto prefatus humfridus Gilbert Miles venit coram dicta domina Regina in Cancellaria sua et recognovit Scriptum predictum ac omnia et singula in eodem contentum et specificatum in forma supradicta

Examinatur h.

84. 6 JUNE 1582. AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT AND SIR GEORGE PECKHAM².

*Scriptum
inter
Gilbert
Militem
et
Peckham
Militem.*

Articles Indented of agreament made concluded and agreed uppon the sixte daye of June in the foure and twentieth yere of

¹ Brudenell MS. O. i. 10 ends here with the autograph signatures 'H Gylberte' and 'G Peckham'. Below the names is a note: 'I thinke this to be very well & according to trewe mening. Tho: Harris'. At the foot of the page is another note: 'Ther ar leves in this boocke thyertyen in all.' Folio 13 is endorsed: 'ingrosse yt'.

² Close Roll, 24 Elizabeth, part 6, C 54/1126, m. 6-8.

the reygne of our soveraigne ladye Elizabeth by the grace of god Quene of England Fraunce and Ireland defendor of the faith &c Betwene Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton in the Countye of Devon Knight on the one partye And Sir George Peckham of Denham in the Countye of Bucks knighte on the other partye as followeth viz

Imprimis whereas our Saide Soveraigne ladye the Quenes Majestie by her graces lettres pattentes under the greate Seale of England bearinge date at Westminster the eleaventh daye of June in the twentieth yere of her Majesties reygne hath gyven and graunted unto the saide Sir Humfrey Gilbert his heires and assignes forever free libertie from [m. 7] tyme to tyme and att all tymes hereafter forever to discover serche fynde out and vewe suche remote heathen and barbarous landes countries and Territories not actuallye possessed of any christen Prince or people as to hym his heires and assignes and to every or any of them shall seme good And the same to have holde occupy and enjoye to hym hys heires and assignes forever With all comodities jurisdictiones and realtyes bothe by sea and lande And did likewise by the saide lettres pattentes for her Majestie her heires and successors gyve full power and auctoritye to the saide Sir Humfrey hys heires and assignes and every of them that he and they and every or any of them shall and maye at every tyme and tymes hereafter have take and leade in the saide vyoge to travell thetherward or to Inhabite their with hym and them and every or any of them suche and so many of her Majesties subjectes as shall willingly accompany hym and them and every or any of them with sufficient shippinge and furniture for their transportacions so that none of the saide persons or any of them be suche as after the makinge of the saide lettres pattentes shoulde be speciallie restrayned by our saide soveraigne ladye her heires and successors The statutes or actes of Parliament made agaynst fugetyves or agaynst suche as shall departe remayne or contynue out of her Majesties Realme of England without lycence or any other acte statute lawe or matter whatsoever to the Contrarye in any wyse notwithstandinge as by the saide lettres pattentes amonge other grauntes Articles and liberties therein conteyned more at large appeareth

Nowe the saide Sir humfrey Gilbert as well for the more spedye executinge of her Majesties saide graunte and the Inlargement of her Majesties domynions and goverment and also for the better Incoragemente of the saide Sir George and his Assosiates in so worthye and comendable an enterprise And for hys sure warrante to prosecute the same orderlye accordinge to the lawes and statutes of this realme And in consideracion that the saide Sir George hath disbursed divers sommes of money and adventured the same as Principall Adventurer with the saide Sir humfrey towards hys nowe intended vyoge for discoverye and inhabitinge of certeyne partes of America so mente by hym or his assignes to be discovered as also for divers other waighty and good consideracions hym the said Sir humfrey especallye movynge for hym hys heires executors admynistrators and assignes and every of them doth covenante promyse and graunte to and with the saide Sir George Peckham his heires executors admynistrators and assignes by theis presentes That the same Sir George hys heires assignes Assosiates Adventurers and people and every of them shall and maye att all tymes hereafter and from tyme to tyme forever have and enjoye full power and free libertie and auctoritye by vertue of the saide lettres patentes to discover serche fynde oute and vewe and also to enjoye to his and there owne use so muche and suche quantetye of the saide landes att the choise of the saide Sir George hys heires assignes Assosiates or adventurers lyinge nexte or adjoyninge so nere as conveniently maye be unto the Islandes and landes mencioned to be assured or conveyed by the sayde Sir Humphrey Gilbert unto the saide Sir George and unto one Sir Thomas Gerrard knyghte by a certeyne wrytinge or Articles of Agreement of the date of theis presentes as shall amounte to the number and quantetye of fyve hundreth thowsand acres of grounde every acre to conteyne foure poll in bredeth forty poll in length and to allowe twentye foure foote to every poll with full power and auctoritye to inhabite people and manure the saide fyve hundreth thowsand acres of grounde togeather with all Jurisdictions privyleges liberties benefittes commodities and emolumentes whatsoever for the governinge inhabitinge disposinge peopleyng and manuringe the premysses and every

parte and parcell therof holdinge the same premysses of the saide Sir Humfrey hys heires successors and assignes by fealtye in free soccage and not otherwyse To have holde and enjoy the saide fyve hundreth thowsande acres of ground comodities Jurisdiccions and liberties and all other the premysses and every parte therof with their appurtenaunces unto the saide Sir George hys heires and assignes to thonelye use of hym the same Sir George and of hys heires and assignes forever yeldinge and payinge unto the saide Sir Humfrey hys heires successors or assignes yerely for every thowsand acres of grounde of the saide fyve hundreth thowsand acres of grounde after the first seaven yeres which the same shalbe actually possessed and manured by the saide Sir George Peckham hys heires assignes or Assosiates fiftene pence and two fyfte partes of all the golde silver pearle and precious stones their growinge founde and gotten out of the which the Quenes Majesties parte reserved by the saide lettres pattentes to be allowed for all duities servyces and demaundes.

Item the saide Sir Humfrey for the consideracions aforesaide doth further covenante promyse and graunte for hym selfe his heires successors and assignes and every of them to and with the saide Sir George Peckham hys heires and assignes and every of them by their presentes that he the saide Sir George hys heires assignes Assosiates adventurers and people and every of them shall or maye have and enjoye free libertye to trade and trafficque into all the landes Isles and Countries and every parte thereof which the saide Sir Humfrey his heires successors or assignes shall possesse by vertue of the Quenes Majesties saide lettres pattentes or his graunte thereof And also that he the saide Sir George his heires and assignes and every of them shall have the execucion of all lawes Ecclesiasticall temporall politique marshall and Cyvyll both Maryne and others and of every of them as well within the precyncte of the saide fyve hundreth thowsande acres of grounde as also upon the sea costes so far as the saide landes shall extend.

Item the saide Sir Humfrey for hym self his heires successors assignes and every of them dothe further covenante promyse and graunt to and wyth the saide Sir George Peckham hys

heires assignes and associates and every of them by these presentes That he the saide Sir Humfrey shall doe his best endeavor to procure and obteyne her Majesties leave and good lykinge that all those who hathe or shall adventure with the saide Sir Humfrey and Sir George or any of them and whose names shalbe entred into a Register booke for that purpose to be made and kepte and shalbe willinge to travell into any of the saide remote Countries maye freely passe into those Countries theire to remayne or retorne backe at his or theire or any of theire will and pleasure And also that he the saide Sir Humfrey his heyres successors or assignes shall and will from tyme to tyme exonerate and discharge or sufficiently save harmeles the saide Sir George Peckham hys heires Associates Adventurers and every of them of and [m. 8] from the Quenes Majestie her heires successors and assignes for and concernynge the payment of the Ewer of golde and silver and other duities servyces and demaundes to her Majestye her heires and successors by the saide lettres pattentes payable and reserved And lykewyse shall and will make and fynishe suche further and better assuraunce and assurances of the premysses unto the saide Sir George Peckham hys heires and assignes forever within three monethes nexte after the first and nexte retorne of the saide Sir Humfrey or hys assignes or consortes Adventurers or Associates from the saide vyoge of discovery by the saide Sir Humfrey nowe intended in suche manner and sorte as by the saide Sir George hys heires or assignes or any of them or the learned counsell of them or any of them shalbe reasonablye and lauffully devysed and required In witnes whereof the saide parties to theis presente Articles Interchaungeablye have sett theire Seales yeven the daye and yere first above written

Examinatur H

Et memorandum quod vicesimo die Junii Anno suprascripto prefatus Humfridus Gilbert Miles venit coram dicta domina in Cancellaria sua et recognovit Scriptum predictum ac omnia et singula in eodem contentum et specificatum in forma supradicta

Irrotulatur xxiii die Junii Anno predicto

85. [JUNE 1582]. PETITION OF SIR GEORGE PECKHAM AND SIR THOMAS GERRARD TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM¹.

Articles of petition to the righte Honorable Sir Francis Wallsinghame knyghte Principall Secretarrie unto the Quens Majestie by Sir Thomas Gerrarde, and Sir George Peckeham knyghtes as followeth viz.

That where Sir Humferie Gylberte knyghte, hath graunted and assigned to the saide Sir Thomas, and Sir George authoritie by vertue of the Quens Majestes lettres patentes to discover and pcesse &c. certaine heathen Landes &c. /

Their humble peticion is /

Firste that it wolde please her Majestie that all souche parsons whose names shall be sett downe in a booke Indented made for that purpose thone parte remayninge with some one of her Majestes pryvie Councell, thother with the saide Sir Thomas and Sir George, Maye have lycens to travell into those Counteris at the nexte viaige for conqueste withall manner of necessarie provision for them selves and their families, their to remaine or retorn backe to Englande at their will and pleasure, when and as often as nede shall requier.

Item the recusances of abillitie that will travell as aforesaide maie have libertie uppon discharge of the penallties dewe to her Majestie in that behallffe to prepare them selves for the said voiage /

Item that other recusances not havinge to satisfie the saide penaltie maie not withstandinge have lyke libertie to provide as aforesaide, and to sta[nd]-charged for the paiement of the saide penallties untill such tyme as god shall make them able to paie the same.

Item that none under Colour of the saide Lycence shall departe owte of this Realme unto any other foren Christian Realme /

Item that they nor anye of them shall doo any acte tendinge to the breache of the leage betwene her Majestie and any other Prince, in amytye with her highnes, neither to the prejudice of her Majestie or this Realme /

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, SP 12/146, 40.

Item that the xth person which they shall carrie with them shalbe souche as have not any certaintie whereuppon to lyve or maintaine them selves in Englande.

Endorsed:—Petitions of sir Tho: Gerard and sir George Peckham.

86. 9 JUNE 1582. AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, SIR GEORGE PECKHAM AND SIR THOMAS GERRARD¹.

Tripartite agreement between Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton, Sir Thomas Gerarde of Brynne and Sir George Peckham of Denham, 9 June 24 Elizabeth.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert grants to Sir Thomas Gerrard and Sir George Peckham, under his patent of 11 June 20 Elizabeth, that they shall have liberty and authority to discover, search out and view those lands and islands on that part of America 'betwene the Cape of Florida and Cape Britton', and promises and grants to them of those lands fifteen hundred thousand acres. They shall have such powers of inhabiting and governing those lands as Sir Humphrey Gilbert has under his patent, holding them by homage and fealty from him and his heirs and assigns, and paying as rent five shillings a year and two-fifths of the gold, silver and precious stones found, for each thousand acres possessed after seven years. Sir Humfry will make them better assurance of the premisses within three months after 'the first and nexte return of the seyd Sir Humfry from the discovery or voyage afforesayd'. They promise to assist him at their own costs 'in his or there nexte Journey or voyage into those partes after the laste daie of ye monthe of March next ensuing'² with two hundred armed men who shall inhabit there and remain with him until a year after the arrival of Sir Thomas and Sir George. If this is

¹ Brudenell MS. O. i. 9. Abstract. The document consists of seventeen sheets of paper, secured at the head by a parchment thong. ff. 1-6 are signed 'H Gylberte', ff. 7-15 'H Gylberte' and 'G. P.', f. 16 'H Gylberte' and 'G. Peckham', and f. 17 is blank and endorsed 'Sir H Gilbertes book'. The signatures are holograph and there are frequent emendations, and notes on ff. 1, 17 to the effect that this book must be engrossed, in Gilbert's hand.

² The last ten words are inserted instead of 'this presente intended voyage by the seyd Sir Humfry and his consorte or assignes shall be performed'.

not carried out the agreement is to be void. Sir Humfry will try all causes 'at the first plantinge' with the aid of at least twelve of the principal adventurers while Sir Thomas and Sir George are with him, gentlemen to be tried by the oath of twenty-four gentlemen and others by the oaths of twelve men, according to the laws of England as near as may be. Sir Humfry promises to obtain leave for Sir Thomas and Sir George, and others entered in a register book, to go to that country and return. Sir Thomas and Sir George promise that for every one hundred thousand acres possessed by them after seven years, they will supply at their own costs one armed ship of one hundred tons for six months or one armed man for every three thousand acres as Sir Humfry shall appoint. Sir Thomas and Sir George promise they will not protect any who conspire or commit crimes against Sir Humfry, his heirs or assigns. If they conspire against him or commit piracy or attack any Christian prince, so that Sir Humfry's letters patent shall be made void, this present grant is to be void. Sir Humfry will acquit and discharge them of any demands due for their lands or minerals found on it.¹

87. JUNE 1582. AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR THOMAS GERRARD, SIR GEORGE PECKHAM, SIR EDMUND BRUDENELL, SIR WILLIAM CATESBY, WILLIAM SHELLEY, PHILIP BASSET, SIR WILLIAM STANLEY, RICHARD BINGHAM AND MARTIN FROBISHER².

Articles concluded [blank] June 1582 between (1) Sir Thomas Gerrarde and Sir George Peckham, (2) Sir Edmond Brudnell, Sir William Catesbye, William Shelley and Phillipp Basset, and

¹ Gilbert adds that they have agreed in substance and form according to their knowledge, 'reservynge the order therof to your allowanse or correction'. The reservation is probably in favour of Sir Thomas Gerrard, who does not appear to have been present, but it may be for Walsingham who was supervising the agreements made by Gilbert.

² Brudenell MS. O. i. 11. Abstract. This document contains ten sheets and is a rough draft with many alterations and some unfinished articles. Some comments on the order of the items appear to be in the hand of Sir Edmund Brudenell. The last sheet has an endorsement, largely illegible, but containing the names of the parties.

(3) Sir William Standley of Storton, Cheshire, Richarde Bingham and Martyn Furbusher.

1. Sir Thomas and Sir George, by authority from Sir Humphrye Gylbert, at their charges and those of the Adventurers named in a schedule or entered in a register of which two copies shall remain with them and one be deposited with Sir Fraunces Walsingham, intend to furnish certain vessels with men, etc., for the next intended voyage for possession or conquest of parts of America, and set them to sea before the last day of March next by the conduct of Standley, Bingham or Forbusher or one of them authorised as General by sea.

2. They grant that all the Adventurers entered in the schedule or register book before the vessels sail shall have the privileges following:

3. Every Adventurer going at his own costs on the voyage shall have, according to his share, out of the third part of the commodities got on the voyage.

4. Every Adventurer shall have according to the property of his adventure.

5. Every person adventuring £100, with ten men for the first voyage and forty men for the subsequent voyage, provisioned for a year, to be an Associate, and have a seignory of 10,000 acres, with as large privileges as any in England, paying Sir Thomas and Sir George ten shillings a year for every thousand acres possessed, reserving precious stones and metals.

6. Every person adventuring £50 and twenty men to be an Assistant and have a lordship of 1000 acres on the same terms.

7. Every person adventuring between £30 and £50 to have five hundred acres for each £5, with liberty to keep court leet and court baron, on the same terms.

8. Persons adventuring under £30 to be Adventurers only and to have five hundred acres for each £5 on the same terms.

9. Associates and Assistants to be free of tortures, martial law and attachment of their persons for actions real and personal.

10. Sums adventured with Anthony Brigham 'in his late intended voyage' to be allowed as adventures in this second voyage, if the persons are 'not satisfied therof in the first journey'.

11. The General and Admiral to rank as an Associate.

12. The Lieutenant and Vice-admiral as an Assistant.
13. Captains and masters of ships as Adventurers of £25.
14. Masters, mates, master gunners and master carpenters as Adventurers of £15.
15. Gunners, carpenters' mates, stewards, boatswains and pursers as Adventurers of £10.
16. Inferior officers and artificers, having their necessary instruments and tools, as Adventurers of £5.
- 17, 18, 19. Associates to hold of Sir Thomas and Sir George, as lords paramount, by free socage; Assistants by homage and fealty; Adventurers by knight service, all paying as above.
20. Persons holding of any other shall do so by tenures agreed between their lord and them.
21. These 'rewardes' to extend only to those who adventure in the next two voyages and who are entered in the schedule or register book before 1 March next.
22. One-thirteenth part of the lands to be reserved for the maintenance of soldiers and persons maimed in the wars.
23. Lands to be allotted as near the place to be inhabited as possible.
24. Adventurers to have choice of lands in order [of the entry] of their adventures.
25. Associates entered before 1 March to have authority to determine cases concerning Associates, Assistants and gentlemen entered before 1 March. Those entered subsequently to have ordinary trial as common persons.
26. Assistants entered before 1 March to have the same regarding inferior Adventurers.
27. Judgment to be as near as they can according to the laws of England: Associates and Assistants to be tried by twenty-four of their equals and every other by twelve honest men.
28. Associates and Assistants to be 'of Counseyle' in matters of state and importance. Associates to be elected to the chief offices in government, and to be parties to these indentures.
29. Adventurers and others may hold their lands of Associates or Assistants and shall have them near to theirs.
30. The Lord Paramount shall ratify all grants and agreements made in England and elsewhere.

31. Adventurers to be free of all trades with the said countries and their apprentices and servants after seven years' service.

32. Standley, Bingham and Forbusher agree to be ready for the seas before 31 March [1583], and undertake to discover four islands and 4,000,000 acres on the adjoining mainland, without any action unjustifiable in England.

33. The general at sea shall fortify a fit place on the mainland or on an island, leaving [blank] persons, provisioned for a year to hold it in the name of all the land granted by Sir Humfrye to Sir Thomas and Sir George¹.

34. Gentlemen wintering there to have four times the land due to them and others double.

35. Mutinous and disobedient persons convicted to lose all benefits.

36. Stanley, Byngham and Forbusher agree to cause all the commodities got in the voyage to be entered in a journal, which shall be delivered to Sir Thomas and Sir George, with 'mappes cardes observacions and notes': the commodities to be distributed to the adventurers according to their shares².

37. A speedy supply to be sent to those who winter there.

38. Sir Thomas and Sir George will confirm their lands, etc., to such Adventurers as will pay the charges, under the conditions agreed between Sir Humfry, Sir Thomas and Sir George in indentures of 9 June.

[Added] A covenant is necessary for the Adventurers to give such assistance in war to Sir Thomas and Sir George as they are covenanted to give Sir Humfry.

There must be special privileges to encourage women to go on the voyage.

88. 7 JULY 1582. AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT AND PHILIP SIDNEY³.

*Scriptum
inter
Gilbert
Militem
et Sidney.*

Articles of agrement Indented made concluded and agreed upon the seaventh daye of Julye in the foure and twentieth yere of the raigne of our soveraigne ladye Elizabeth by the grace of

¹ Crossed out and re-inserted after no. 36.

² Note inserted that this clause should follow no. 1.

³ Close Roll, 25 Elizabeth, part 7, C 54/1153, m. 12-14.

god Quene of England Fraunce and Ireland defendor of the faythe &c Betwene Sir Humfrye Gylberte of Compton in the Countye of Devon knight on thone partye and Phillip Sydneys of Penthurst in the Countye of Kent Esquire on thother partye as followeth viz. Inprimis wheras our said soveraigne ladye the Quenes Majestie by her graces lettres patentes under the greates Seale of England bearinge date at Westminster the eleventh daye of June in the twentieth yere of her Majesties raigne hathe gyven and graunted unto the said Sir Humfrye Gilberte hys heyres and assignes forever free libertye from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter forever to discover searche fynde out and vewe suche remote heathen and barbarous landes countries and terrytories not actuallye possessed of any Christian prince or people as to hym hys heyres or assignes and to every or any of them shall seme good And the same to have holde occupye and enjoye to hym hys heyres and assignes forever with all commodities Jurisdiccions and realties bothe by sea and lande and did lykewyse by the saide lettres patentes for her Majestie her heyres and successors gyve full powre and auctoritie to the saide Sir Humfrye hys heyres and assignes and every of them that he and they and every or any of them shall and maye at every tyme and tymes hereafter have take and leade in the saide voyage to traveyle thitherward or to enhabite there with hym and them and every or any of them suche and so manye of her Majesties subjectes as shall willingly accompanye hym and them and every or any of them with sufficient shippinge and furniture for their transportacions so that none of the said persons or any of them be suche as after the makeinge of the saide lettres patentes shoulde be especiallye restrayned by our said soveraigne ladye her heyres or successors The statutes or actes of parliament made against fugytives or against such as shall departe remayne or contynue out of her Majesties realme of England without licence or any other acte statute lawe or matter whatsoever to the contrarie in any wise notwithstandinge as by the said lettres patentes amonge other grauntes articles and liberties therein conteyned more at large appeareth Nowe the said Sir Humfrye Gilberte aswell for the more spedye execucion of her Majesties said grauntes and thenlargement of

her Majesties domynions and govermentes and also for the better encouragement of the saide Phillipp Sidney and hys associates in so worthy and commendable an enterpryse as also for divers other weightye and good consideracions hym the said Sir Humfrye especialle movinge for hym hys heyres executors admynistrators and assignes and every of them doth covenaut promyse and graunt to and with the said Phillipp Sydneys hys heyres executors admynistrators [m. 13] and assignes by theis presentes that the said Phillipp Sydneys hys heyres assignes associates adventurers and people and every of them shall and maye at all tymes hereafter and from tyme to tyme forever have and enjoy full powre and free libertye and auctorite by vertue of the said lettres patentes to discover, serche fynde out and vewe any thinge not before discovered searched found out vewed or enhabited by the saide Sir Humfry his heyres successors executors or assignes and by the assignement of the saide Sir Humfrye hys heyres and successors to enjoy to hys and their owne use somuche and suche quantetye of the said landes and wood to be discovered searched found out and vewed so by hym the said Phillipp hys heyres assignes associates adventurers and people as shall amount unto the number of thirtie hundred thousand acres of grounde and woode every acre to conteyne fowre pole in breadth and fortye pole in length and to allowe sixtene foote to every pole with full powre and auctoritie to enhabite people and manure the said thirtie hundred thousand acres of ground together with all Jurisdictions privileges liberties benefyttes commodities and emolumentes whatsoever for the governinge enhabitinge disposinge peoplinge and manuringe the premysses and every parte and parcell thereof in as large manner as hereafter is specified holdinge the same premysses of the saide Sir Humfrye hys heyres successors and assignes by fealtye in free Socage and not otherwyse To have holde and enjoye the said thirtie hundred thousand acres of ground and wood commodities Jurisdictions and liberties and all other the premysses and every parte thereof with their appurtenaunces unto the saide Phillipp Sydneys hys heyres and assignes to the onlye use of hym the saide Phillipp Sydney and of hys heyres and assignes forever yeldinge and payinge unto the said Sir

Humfrey hys heyres successors or assignes for every thousand acres of ground of the said thirtie hundred thousand acres of ground after the first seaven yeres which the same shalbe actuallye possessed and manured by the said Phillipp Sidneys hys heyres assignes and associates fyftene pence and twoe fyft partes of all the golde silver pearle and precious stones there growing found hadd and gotten out of the which the Quenes Majesties parte also reserved by the lettres patentes to be allowed for and also there shalbe yerelye one haulfe peny sterlinge levied forever out of every acre of land and wood within all the foresaid Countries Islands territories or Domynions the said payment to begyne after the first ten yeres that anny one ferme shalbe possessed and manured which mony shalbe yerely ymployde towards the mayntenaunce of a Navye and soldiars for the generall defence of those Countries territories Islandes and Domynions as a treasure of the people to the uses as aforesaide there monye to be yerelye paide and kepte in a treasure house for the same to be appoynted for that purpose and the same to be ymployde by the consent of the chefest governor of the said Countries territories Islandes and domynions with the consent of the more parte of thertene suche as shalbe chosen by the consent of the people to be counsellors for marciall and Maryne causes And yt is further agreed betwene the said parties for them selves their heyres associates assistantes and adventurers that the sixtithe parte of all the landes of every temporall man and the fortith parte of the landes and revenues of every sperituall person shalbe yerelye allowed and kepte as a common tresure forever for the mayntenaunce of maymed soldiares and learnynge and to be ymployde to suche other good and necessarye uses for the common wealthe as the said Chiefe Governor and the more parte of the said thertene chosen by the consent of the people to be counsellors as aforesaid shall thincke moste meete and convenient. Item the saide Sir Humfrey for the consideracions aforesaid doth farther promyse covenant and graunt for hym selfe hys heires successors and assignes and every of them to and with the said Phillipp hys heires and assignes and every of them by theis presentes that he the said Phillipp hys heyres assignes associates adventurers and people

and every of them shall and maye have and enjoye free libertye to trade and traffique into all the Islandes and Countries and every parte therof which the saide Sir Humfrye hys heyres successors or assignes shall possesse by vertue of the Quenes Majesties said lettres patentes or hys graunte thereof and also that he the saide Phillipp Sydney hys heyres and assignes and every of them shall have the execucion of all lawes Ecclesiasticall temporall polittique marciall and Cyvile and of every of them as well within the precinct of the saide thirtye hundred thousand acres of ground as also upon the sea costes so far as the said land shall extend. Item the said Sir Humfrey Gilbert for hym hys heyres successors and assignes doth covenaut from tyme to tyme upon the performaunce of the covenantes in thys booke conteyned to exhonerate discharge and sufficientlye to save harmeles the said Phillipp Sydneys hys heyres associates adventurers and every of them of and from the Quenes Majestie her heyres successors and assignes for and concernynge the payment of the Ewre of golde and silver and other duties services and demaundes to her Majestie her heyres and successors by the said lettres patentes payable and reserved and likewise shall and will fy[r]nishe suche further and better assuraunce and assurances of the premysses unto the saide Phillip Sidneys hys heyres and assignes forever within three monethes nexte after the first and next retourne of the said Sir Humfrye or hys assignes consortes adventurers or associates from the saide voyage of discoverye by the said Sir Humfrye now intended in suche manner and sorte as by the saide Phillipp Sydney hys heyres or assignes or any of them or the learned counsaile of them or any of them shalbe reasonablye and lauffullye devised and required and the same Phillip Sydney for hym selfe hys heyres associates and assignes and every of them dothe covenante promyse and graunt to and with the said Sir Humfrey hys heyres successors and assignes and every of them by theis presentes that he the saide Phillip Sydneys shall doe hys best endeavor to procure and obteyne her Majesties leave and good lykinge that all those whoe have or shall adventure with the said Sir Humfrey Sir Thomas Gerrard Sir George Peckham knightes the saide Phillipp or any of them into the said Countrie and

whose names shall be entred into a register booke for that purpose to be made and kepte and shalbe willinge to traveyle into any of the said remote countries maye freelye passe into those Countries there to remayne or retourne backe at hys their or any of their will and pleasure And the said Phillipp Sydney doth further covenaut and graunt for hym selfe hys heyres executors associates and assignes to and with the said Sir Humfrye Gilbert hys heyres successors and assignes by theis presentes that he nor they nor any of them their heyres assignes or associates shall deferr thexecucion of Justice within their liberties beinge therunto required by the said Sir Humfrye hys heyres and successors or assignes against any such as shall conspire against the person of the said Sir Humfrye hys heyres successors or principall assignee or commytt any Capitall offence or shall deteyne or protecte from Justice any person hys landes or goodes contrarye to the lawes to be established in the before mencioned remote countries and territories which the saide Sir Humfrye Gilberte hys heyres successors or assignes shall have holde occupie or enjoye by right or tytle under or by vertue of the Quenes Majesties lettres pattentes to hym graunted as afore is mencioned Provided allwaies and nevertheles yt is concluded condiscended and agreed by and betwene the said parties that yf the said Phillipp Sydneys hys heyres or assignes shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter willingly wittinglye and maliciouslye pretend doe or goe about to doe or willingly suffer to be done any manner of acte thinge or thinges whatsoever leadinge to the distruction or subvercion of the said Sir Humfrye hys heyres successors or cheife assignee or principall governor or doe commytt piracye or open hostilitie against any Christian prince or people wherebye the lettres patentes of the saide Sir Humfrye shall or may be made voyde or frustrate or he or hys heyres successors or assignes dissavowed contrarye to the true meynge purporte and effect of the saide lettres patentes graunted to the said Sir Humfrye or yf he or they doe publiclye notoriously and maliciouslye maynteyne any suche person or persons as shall publicly or openly goe about to destroye or overthrowe the right tytle or person of the said Sir Humfrye hys [m. 14] heyres successors or hys cheife and principall assignee

in principall government or the subvercion of the commen wealth of the saide Sir Humfrey hys heyres or successors their Countries or terretories that then and from thenceforth this present graunt and all coveauntes herein conteyned to become voyde and of none effecte to all ententes and purposes as yf the same hadd never bene hadd nor made any thinge in theis presentes conteined to the contrarye thereof in any wise notwithstandinge In witnes whereof the parties abovesaide to thes presentes enterchaungeablye have sett their handes and seales the daye and yere fyrst above written

Examinatur H

Et memorandum quod die et Anno suprascripto prefatus Humfridus Gilberte Miles venit coram dicta domina Regina in Cancellaria sua et recognovit Scriptum predictum ac omnia et singula in eodem contentum et specificatum in forma supradicta

Irrotulator xxvii die Junii Anno rR xxv.

89. 8 JULY 1582. GRANT OF AUTHORITY BY SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, REGARDING HIS RIGHTS IN AMERICA, TO SIR JOHN GILBERT, SIR GEORGE PECKHAM AND WILLIAM AUCHER¹.

*Scriptum
inter
Gilbert
militem
&
Peckham
Militem
& alios.*

To all Christian people to whome this presente writinge indented shall come, Sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton in the Countie of Devon knighte sendeth greetinge in our lord God everlastinge, whereas our soveraigne ladie Elizabeth the Quenes Majestie that nowe is by her graces lettres pattentes under her greate seale of England bearinge date at Westminster the eleaventh daye of July in the twentieth yeare of her Majesties raigne of her graces especiall certen science and mere mocion, hath given and graunted to me the said Sir Humfrey by the name of her trustie and welbeloved servaunte Sir Humfrey Gilberte of Compton in her Countye of Devon knighte and to my heires and assignes forever free libertie and licence from tyme to tyme and at all tymes forever there after to discover serche fynde oute and viewe such remote heathen and barbarous

¹ Close Roll, 24 Elizabeth, part 7, C 54/1127, m. 1-4.

landes countries and terrytories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people as to me my heires and assignes and to every or anye of us shall seeme good And the same to have hold occupie and injoye to me my heires and assignes forever with all commodities jurisdiccions and royalties both by sea and lande And I the Said Sir Humfrey and all suche as from tyme to tyme by licence of her Majestie her heires and successors shall goe or travell thither to inhabit or remayne there to buyld and fortifie at the discretion of me the said Sir Humfrey my heires and assignes the statute or act of Parliament made agaynste fugetives or agaynste suche as shall departe remayne or contynue out of her Realme of England withoute her licence or anye other acte statute lawe or matter whatsoever to the contrarye in any wise notwithstandinge And her Majestie did likewise by the saide lettres pattentes for her her heires and successors give full power and auctoritie to me the saide Sir Humfrey my heires and assignes and every of them that wee and every or any of us shall and maye at all and every tyme and tymes thereafter have take and leade in to the said voyages to travell thetherwarde or to inhabite there with me and them and every or anye of them suche and soe manye of her subjectes as shall willingly accompanye me and them and every or anye of them with sufficiente shipping and furniture for our transportacions soe that none of the same persons nor any of them be suche as thereafter shoulde be speciallie restrayned by her Majestye her heires or successors And further that I the said Sir Humfrey my heirs and assignes and every or anye of them shall have holde occupie and enjoye to me my heires and assignes and everye of them forever all the soyle and all such landes countries and territories soe to be discovered or possessed as aforesaid And of all citties castells townes villages and places in the same with the right royalties and jurisdiccions as well maryne as other within the said landes or countries or the seas thereunto adjoyninge to be had or used with full power to dispose thereof and of every parte thereof in fee symple or otherwise accordinge to the order of the lawes of England as neere as the same conveniently may be att myne and their will and pleasure to any persone then beyinge or that shall remayne within the allegi-

aunce of her Majestie her heires and successors reseruyng
alwayes to her highnes her heires and successors for all services
duties and demaundes the fifte parte of all the owre of golde and
silver that from tyme to tyme and at all tymes after such dis-
coverye subduynge and possessinge shalbe there gotten All
which landes countries and territories shall forever be holden by
me the saide said [*sic*] Sir Humfrey my heires and successors by
homage and by the payement of the said fifte parte in the said
lettres pattentes reserved only for all services, And moreover
her Majestie did by the said lettres patentes for her heires and
successors give and graunte licence to me the said Sir Humfrey
Gilbert my heires and assignes and every of them that wee and
every of us shall and maye from tyme to tyme and at all tymes
thereafter forever for defence encounter expulse repell and
resist as well by sea as by land and by all other waies whatsoever
all and every such persone and persones whatsoever as withoute
the speciall licence and likeinge of me the said Sir Humfrey
and of my heires and assignes shall attempts to inhabite within
the space of twoe hundreth leagues nere to the place or places
within suche countries as aforesaid yf they shall not be before
planted or inhabited within the lymytt aforesaid with the
subjectes of any Christian Prince beinge in amytie with her
Majestie where I the said Sir Humfrey my heires or assignes or
anye of them or any of our assosciates or companyes shall with-
[in] sixe yeres then nexte ensuyng make their dwellinges and
abidinges or shall enterprize or attempte at any tyme thereafter
unlawfullye to annoyne either by sea or lande me the said Sir
Humfrey my heires or assignes or any of them or any of our
companyes goinge and grauntynge by the said lettres patentes
power and auctoritie to me the said Sir Humfrey my heires
and assignes and every of them from tyme to tyme and at all
tymes then after forever to take and surprize by almanner of
meanes whatsoever all and every those persone and persones
with their shippes vesselles and other goodes and furnytur
which withoute the licence of me the said Sir Humfrey my
heires or assignes as aforesaid shalbe founde traffakinge into any
harborough or harboroughes creke or creekes within lymyttes
aforesaid the subjectes of her Majesties realmes and domynyons

and all other persones in amytye with her highnes beinge driven by tempeste or shippwracke only excepted and those persones and every of them with their shippes vesselles goodes and furniture to detayne and possesse as of good and lawfull prize accordinge to the discretion of me the said Sir humfrey my heires and assignes and every or any of them And for unitinge in more perfecte league and amytye of such countries landes and territories soe the[re] possessed and inhabited as aforesaid within her Majesties realmes of England and Ireland And for the better encorageunte [m. 2] of men to this enterprize her highnes did by the said lettres patentes graunte and declare that all such countries soe thereafter to be possessed and inhabited as aforesaid from thensforthe shalbe of the allegeiaunce of her Majestye her heires and successors And her Majestye did graunte to me the said Sir Humfrey my heires and assignes and to all and every of them and to all and every other persone and persones beinge of her highnes allegeaunce whose names shalbe noted or entred in somme of her Majesties Courtes of record within this her realme of England and that with thassent of me the said Sir Humfrey my heires and assignes shall nowe in this jorney for discoverye or in the second jorney for conqueste hereafter travell to such landes countries and territories as aforesaid and their and every of their heires that they and every of them beinge either borne within her Majesties said realmes of England or Ireland or in any other place within her highnes allegeaunces and which thereafter should be inhabitinge within anye the landes countries and territories with such licence as aforesaid should and myghte have and enjoye all the priveleges of free denizens and persones native of England and within her Majesties allegeaunce the such like ample manner and forme as yf they were borne and personallie resiant within her hyghnes said realme of England any lawe custome or usage to the contrarie not with standinge, And for as muche as upon the fyndinge oute discoverynge and inhabitinge of such remote landes countries and territories as aforesaid it shalbe necessarye for the safetie of all men that shall adventure them selves in those voyages or jorneyes to determyne to live together in Christian peace and civill quietnes eache with other whereby every

one may with more pleasure and profitt enjoy that whereunto they shall attayne with paine and perill, her majestie for her her heires and successors was likewise pleased and contented and by the said lettres pattentes did give and graunte to me the said Sir Humfrey and my heires and assignes forever that wee and every or any of us shall and maye from tyme to tyme forever thereafter within the said mencioned remote landes and countries and in the waye by the seas thether and from thence have full and mere power and auctority to correcte punyshe pardone governe and rule by oure and every of oure good discretions and pollicies as well in Causes capitall or crinynall [*sic*] as civill both maryne and other, All suche her subjectes and others as shall from tyme to tyme thereafter adventure them selves in the said jorneyes and voyages habitative or possessive or that shall at any tyme thereafter inhabite any suche landes countries or territories as aforesaid or that shall abide within twoe hundreth leagues of any of the said place or places where I the said sir Humfrey my heires and assignes and everye or any of them or any of oure associates or companyes shall inhabite within sixe yeares nexte ensuyinge the date of the same lettres patentes accordinge to such statutes lawes and ordinaunces as shalbe by me the said Sir Humfrey my heires and assignes and every or any of them devised or establieshed for the better governement of the saide people as aforesaid soe alwayes as the said statutes lawes and ordinaunces may be as nere as convenyently may be agreable to the forme of the lawes and pollicie of England, And also so as they be not agaynst the true Christian faythe or reigion nowe professed in the Church of England nor in any wise to with drawe any of the subjectes or people of those landes or places from the allegeaunce of her Majestie her heires and successors as their ymediate soveraigne under God as by the said lettres pattentes amongeste divers other thinges therin contayned more at large it doth and may appeare, knowe ye now that I the said Sir Humfrey Gilbert knighte callinge to mynde the mortalities of mankynd and the uncertene event of longe voyages in maryne and martiall affaires and carefullie foreseeinge leaste thorowe my death captivitye or other myshappe this intended enterprize myghte quaell throwe the

mysfortunes aforesaid and the mynoritye of my nexte heire for the avoydinge of such enconvenyences as myghte thereby ensue to the hinderaunce of so godlye and honorable an enterprize, have assigned deputed and appointed and by theis presentes doe assigne depute and appoynte give and graunte unto my wel-beloved brother Sir John Gilberte of Grenewaye in the Counte of Devon knighte Sir George Peckham of Denham in the Countie of Buckingham knighte and William Aucher of Borne in the Countie of Kent Esquyre all suche estate righte title power and auctoritie as I have maye myghte shoulde or oughte to have in and to the premysse by force and vertue of the said lettres patentes to me made and graunted by our said sovereigne ladie the Quene as aforesaide together with the same lettres pattentes, To have and to holde the premysse to the saide Sir John Gilbert Sir George Peckham and William Archer their executors and assignes to the uses intentes and purposes and in such manner and forme to be used ymployd and ordered so farre forth as they convenyently may as are declared appointed lymyted and sett downe in a scedule indented hereunto annexed and to no other use intende and purpose, In witnes whereof to either parte of this my presente writinge I the said Sir Humfrey Gilbert have putt my hande and seale, yeven the eighte day of July in the foure and twentieth yere of the Raigne of our sovereigne ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God Quene of England Fraunce and Ireland defendor of the fayth &c, 1582 /.

The Auctoritie to be to Sir John Gilberte Sir George Peckham knightes and William Archer Esquire jo[i]ntly or any two of them yf they shalbe lyvinge or the survivor of them after my death or other ympedymentes in my lyfe tyme whereby I shall not be hable in persone to followe the same to performe and confyrme and ratefie all the grauntes for landes and territories to any of my adventurers in such sorte and manner as I have covenanted to graunte the same. Also that after my death or such ympediament as aforesaid to dispose of all offices duringe life countries territories landes and tenementes within the said countries now to be discovered vewed searched and possessed and to governe the same and to dispose of almannor the revennewes thereof to the beste behoof of my wief and children

as hereafter is specified reservyng in all their giftes and grauntes all customes chief rentes royaltis jurisdictiones and services to the heires males of my bodie lawfullie begotten And reservyng to dame Anne my wief duringe the mynoritie or mynorities of my eldest sonne sonnes or heire the third parte of all the whole revennews before specified And after his or their full age then shée to have the fyfth parte thereof duringe her naturall lyfe shée also to have during her lyfe of landes in one entire seinorie or lordeshippe fiftye english myles square to be placid in neare or aboute the beste and safeste place of the Countrie and territorie at her choise or by her good likinge to be appoynted which parcell of lande to be forever the joynture of the wief of the cheif lord and governor of those Countries under the crowne of England with auctoritie to appoynte twoe such other seignories to be likewise to the behoof of such other wives of the said governors from tyme to tyme lyvinge together as maye happen hereafter to survive their husbundes And to give also to every one of my sonnes the like seniories in goodnes and quantitie at the leaste to them and their heires and to every of my daughters that I have or shall have twentie miles square in like manner as aforesaid to them and their heirs in fee symple, And my wief and every of my children to have execucion of Justice within every of their seniories payeinge unto the cheif lord of those countries under the Crowne of England and his successors for ever yerely after the firste seaven [m. 3] yeres that they shall possesse and manure the same or any parte thereof be it more or lesse for every thowsand acres foure pence with one fiveth parte of the gold silver pearle and precious stones that theare shalbe gotten holdinge the same in fre soccage only duyng hym his heires and successors in his or their warres by land fourtie dayes in the yere att their own charges with one soldyar sufficiently furnished for the warres yf they shalbe thereunto requyred for every five thowsand acres that shalbe inhabited and manured in manner as aforesaid whereof hereafter from tyme to tyme as many of them to be horsed and furnished for the warres as they may conveniently, Also my principall assignes joyntly or any twoe of them or the survivor of them to have auctoritie to dispose of all the soyle in those partes in

fee farme to any persone and their heires in such sorte as herein is expressed with good consideracion had to reserve in the beste places for the buyldinge of townes and fortes with sufficiente for their commons of pasture And for the provision of the captaynes or governors together with sufficient demesnes to be annexed rente free for ever to every such charge And alsoe for somme smale porcion not excedinge tenn acres or thereaboutes to be alowed for every particuler house that shalbe buylte in such places for the better mayntenaunce of the poore inhabitants reservynge some smalle rentes for the said tenantes and landes as to their discrecions shalbe thoughte mete Also every one that shalbe sent over by the generall charge of the Realme with such provisions as is hereafter mencioned shall have in lease for three lives sixtie acres of land besides common for soe much cattell in somer as they maye kepe upon their severalles in wynter with allowaunce for housebote hedgebote and ploughboote as the Countrie may serve and shall paye for the same per annum beinge possessed and manured after the firste three yeres twoe shillings together with twoe fiveth partes of all the gold silver pearle and precious stones that shalbe therin gotten founde or hadd And the tenth parte of all other mettalles and submyneralles by the name of a toalle And after every death or alienacion a best beaste for a herriott and one yeres rente for a relief The provision that every of the poore muste bringe to have the foresaid allowaunce. Inprimis of wheate seavies or quarter one prize, twentie shillings, of Barley busshelles, four prize, sixe shillings eighte pence, of oates busshelles, foure, prize, three shillings foure pence, of beanes busshelles, twoe prize, five shillings, of pease bushelles, twoe, prize, foure shillings, one hatchet, prize, twelve pence, one Pickaxe, prize, twelve pence, one hande sawe, prize, twelve pence, one spade, priz, twelve pence, / which amounteth unto. in the whoale, fouretie three shillings, besides somme allowaunce to be had for their transportacions and apparell, All which to be receaved upon their firste arivall by an officer to be appoynted for the same purpose and to be redelyvered them agayne when they shalbe appoynted their dwellinges whiche shalbe at the farthest forever within fortie daies nexte after their arivall theare. And for

such store as shalbe soe sente over, for boyes or wentches not able to take charge of houshold their porcons to be ymployed at the discrecion of the Officers to be appoynted for the same purpose and the like in goodes to be redelyvered them with their landes and dwellinge places when they shalbe Married or become hable to take charge of houshold. Provided alwaies that the Realme of England shalbe alwaies repaied the said charge for theis poore every third yere for the charges of the firste yere yf they shall requyre the same and so successively one after an other the whole Countrie standinge charged for ye same which can be noe losse to the Rea[l]me of England, And all other that shall come thus furnished at their owne charges with a sworde dagger and hargabusse of encrease shall have for the like terme sixscore acres payenge for the same after the before specified rates All the poore people and voluntaries that shall come over upon the generall provision of the Realme of England or at their owne proper charges as aforesaid and not broughte over at the charges of other adventurers shalbe tenautes to Sir Humfrey Gilberte and his heires successors / or / Children and to the heires and successors of them and to noe others. Provided nevertheles yf any man shall either bringe or sende over at his or their charges any persone to be an Adventurer tenaunte or servaunte with or under hym, or yf any other persone that shall voluntarily come over at their owne charges shall before their arivall in those partes enrolle themselves in the Masters or Pursors bookes of the shippe wherin they shalbe then ymbarkd that they mynde to be adventurers tenautes or servautes to any one man by them to be named. Then every such persone shall and maye have free libertie after his or their arivall thether to become a venturer tenaunte or servaunte with or to hym in such sorte as aforesaide for which persones neither sir Humfrey Gilbert his heires or successors shalbe chargid to give any landes or territories to any of them But they to be lefte to seke satisfaccion at their handes that they shall soe become Adventurers tenautes servautes or followers unto, Item every gentleman or suche persone as shalbe soe theare allowed that shall bringe five men theare to dwell and enhabite at his owne proper charges and furnished as is aforesaide shall have for hym selfe in fee

symple twoe thowsand acres of land And he that shall send the like nomber in like sorte shall have one thowsand acres And for every one of their men theare so brought sente and planted to have sixscore acres in fee symple payeinge at their admyttaunce unto the said landes for a fyne after the rate of tenne shillinges for every one hundred acres that shalbe soe allotted for the Master or land lordes demeanes and yerely after the firste three yeres twentie shillinges rente for every thowsand acres to be allotted to hym selfe in sorte as before saide And noe man to be capable of those benefyttes of theise Rates unlesse he be an Adventurer in the twoe nexte voyages withoute speciall allowance by the said Sir Humfrey or his assignes uppon speciall consideracion And for every one of their men to have alowed in fee symple sixscore acres payenge for a fyne at the assuraunce thereof twentie shillinges and yerely after the firste thre yeres twoe shillinges sixe pence, together with twoe fiveth partes of all the golde silver pearle and precious stones that shalbe gotten in and uppon the same And the tenth parte of all the mettalles and submyneralls by the name of a toall and after every death of the cheif lord of that soile or alienacion of the landes a best beast and one yeres rente holdinge the same in fealtie only And every man that shall bringe thyther ten men shall have for his owne persone foure thowsand acres in fee symple And he that shall but sende the like nomber shall have but the halfe thereof And they to be alowed for every follower adventurer tenaunte or servaunte accordinge to the rentes and rates abovesaide [m. 4] with this generall provision nexte ensuyng to be sett downe for all men to clayme by videlicet every man that shall bringe above the nomber of tenne men to be allowed for his owne persone for every ten men above the other firste ten men so broughte thether one thousand acres of lande, and soe more or less accordinge to the nomber that he shall then bringe, And to have for every of his men tenauntes followers or adventurers sixscore acres doynge and payenge for the same accordinge to the rates and rentes above specified and every wief of any of those that shall bringe thithier five men or upward which shall goe in any the nexte twoe voyages to be allowed also duringe their naturall lives for supply of their Joyntures a third parte of asmutch as their hus-

bandes hadd heretofore sette downe in respect of them alone and every one of their children that shall soe come thether in persone to have to every one of them in like manner duringe their lives a fourth parte of asmutch as their fathers should have done for the like porcions of landes every tenaunte to sixtie acres of land shall maynteyne for his defence a longe bowe and a sheff of Arrowes together with a sworde dagger and a wooden targett Alsoe every man that shall have sixescore acres shall doe the like with encrease of a Caliver furnished Also every man that shall have twoe hundreth and fortie acres shall keepe in his house one hable man besides hym self furnished for a hargabyzier to serve in the warres every man encreasinge or demysching [sic] his martiall provision and charge accordinge to the quantitie of the grounde that he shall manure, And everye gentleman or such as shall bringe thither and maynteyne theare five men or more as is aforesaid and shall have in his demaynes twoe thousand acres or upwardes shall keepe a lighte horsse furnyshed for the warres after such tyme as god shall send sufficiente horses in those partes And in the meane tyme to keepe twoe men for shotte in lewe of every such horse. And every man that shalbe allowed foure thowsand acres or more in respecte of his owne persone besides his people and followers shall keepe accordinge to the like rates answerable to his porcion and shalbe bound to buylde a dwellinge house for hym selfe in the cheif Cittie of the province or in such other apte place as by the cheif officers shalbe thoughte mete accordinge to suche plattes as shalbe sett downe and agreid on for that purpose by my assignes or any twoe of them answerable to every mans callinge, payenge for the same seate per Annum, foure pence, And alsoe their shalbe yerely one halfe penny sterlinge levied forever oute of every acre of lande and woode within all the foresaide Countries Ilandes territories or domynyons the saide paymentes to begyn after the first and nexte tenn yeres that any of the same shalbe possessed and manured which money shalbe only ymployed towards the maynetenance of an Navy and soldyars for the generall defence of those Countries territories Ilandes and domynyons as a treasuer of the peoples to the uses aforesaid the which money to be yerely payed and kepte in a treasure house for

the state to be appoynted for that purpose and the same to be ymployed by the consente of the cheif governor of the said Countries with the consente of the more parte of thirtene such as shalbe chosen by the consente of the people to be Counsellors for Marshall and maryne causes, every Mynyster of what degree soever to give yerely forever oute of their porcions the full twentieth parte of their whoalye lyvinge, And every landlorde beinge a temporall man to give forever the fortith parte of his landes to be indyfferently appoynted towardes the mayntenaunces of mayned soldiars and of learninge, lectures, scholers and other good and godlye uses in such sorte as shalbe from tyme to tyme thoughte moste mete by the consente of the cheif Majestrates and lawe makers of those Countries not ymployenge the same to any other ende then as is hereby mente And every Countrie parishe through the whole domynyons to conteyne in bignes neither more nor lesse then juste three Englishe myles square And the Church to be alwayes placed in the Middeste thereof And every parson or Mynyster shall have to his benefice beside all his tithes three hundreth acres of good landes lyenge togethers as neare unto the Church as it convenyently maye bee fitt for hym to dwell on And to have and occupie the said glebe landes in severall at his will and pleasure and to be allowed comon of pasture in the waste of the same parishe rateable for his porcion as others shalbe the said rates before specified to be establiished forever withoute alteracion for the Mynysters the lorde of the parishe beinge alwaies charged to allot oute of his owne landes in sorte as is aforesaid the glebe landes before specified at the fyrste devidinge of the parishes which beinge so appoynted shall alwayes remayne in fee symple to the Church subjecte to noe mans alteracion neither yett shall the Clergy have power to lease any of the same other then for the present Incumbent his lief at the furthest nor soe neither to be good in lawe but with reservacion of soe mutch rent as it shalbe adjudged worth by the judgements of twelve of the beste sorte of his parishoners And no Mynyster to have at one tyme above one benefice nor any at all excepte he be resident thereon at the leaste sixe whole monethes in the yere. Item every Bisshoppe to have tenn thowsand acres of lande in one

Senyorie and to have alowed hym of the same tithe free for his demeanes twoe thowsand acres Alsoe every Archebissshoppe to have twentie thowsand acres to be devided into twoe seniories of tenne thowsand acres the peice and to have of the same alowed hym in each lordshippe or seigniory twoe thowsand acres of grounde for his demeane tithe free in respecte of which tithes they shall encrease the livinge of the parsones of every the said parishes where their landes shalbe soe freid with as mutch glebe landes as may countervaille the same. Provided alwayes and my meanyng is that my saide assignes shall not have to doe in disposinge of anye of the premysses any longer then duringe the mynoritie of my heires.

Et memorandum quod die et Anno supradicto prefatus Humfridus Gilbert Miles venit coram dicta domina Regina in Cancellaria Sua et recognovit scriptum et sedulum predictum ac omnia et singula in eisdem contentum et specificatum in forma supradicta Irrotulatur xx^o die Julii Anno predicto Examinatur H.

90. 11 JULY 1582. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II¹.

As I wrote to your Majesty some days since, Ongi Gilberto [Humphrey Gilbert] was fitting out several ships for a settlement in Florida and as this was not only prejudicial to your Majesty but also to the English Catholics as giving advantage to heretics, Walsingham put it secretly to two spendthrift Catholic gentlemen who have some land that if they helped Ongi Gilberto in his expedition, they would escape losing life and property, by asking the Queen to allow them, in consideration for this service, to live in those parts with freedom of conscience and enjoy the use of their property in England—for which purpose they might rely on Phelippe Sideney. As these men were anxious to live as Catholics without risking their lives, they thought it a good plan, and informed other Catholics of it. These also have approved and offered to help with money, petitioning the Queen on the subject. She has given them a

¹ Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xcii, 396–8. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1580–6, no. 275.

patent under the Great Seal of England to settle in Florida on the coast of Noromberga and live there with freedom of conscience, enjoying the use of their English properties—this not only for those who leave the realm for the purpose but other English abroad, although declared rebels. The Queen restores them to her favour and accepts them as loyal subjects and vassals—this for no other motive that, in spite of persecution, imprisonment and the bloodshed of martyrs, Catholics were increasing. These it was expedient to weaken and destroy in some way. When this was done, there would be no maintaining of seminaries abroad nor would priests living here be able to continue their preaching if there were no one to receive and shelter them. In this way once and for all the small remnant of good blood in this sick body would be drained away. Through the clergy here I made known to the Catholics the purpose of the Queen and Council in admitting them to favour—and that those lands belonged to your Majesty, that you had garrisons and fortresses there, and that they would immediately have their throats cut as happened to the French who went with Juan Ribao [Jean Ribault], that further they were imperilling their consciences by engaging in an enterprise prejudicial to His Holiness and that it would be well for them to report the matter to him through Dr. Alano [Allen] and learn if they could justifiably make the voyage.

Some have withdrawn on this, but others who are spend-thrifts persist in wishing to make the voyage, convincing themselves that there is nothing in it against your Majesty because in the map it is marked as Nueva Francia [New France], which proves it was discovered by the French, and that since Cortés fitted out ships at his own expense to make conquests—and he was a Catholic—they could do the same. At the same time I have notified the Abbot Briceño in Rome and have written to Alano [Allen] how necessary it is for the reduction of this kingdom that he make every effort to prevent the expedition.

91. 16 JULY 1582. JOHN DEE'S DEALINGS WITH SIR GEORGE PECKHAM¹.

A meridie hor. 3½ cam Sir George Peckham to me to know the tytle for Norombega in respect of Spayn and Portugall parting the whole worlds discoveryes. He promysed me of his gift and of his patent 5000 akers of ye new conquest & thought to get so moch of Mr. Gerardes gift to be sent me with seale within a few days².

92. 25 JULY 1582. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II³.

As to the ships which as I previously wrote to your majesty the Catholics were getting ready here, it turns out that not more than two are going this year with Hongigilberto [Humphrey Gilbert] to reconnoitre the place where they can land next year. These ships are already riding in Sotamton [Southampton] harbour, only waiting for the weather to set sail, and with them a pinnace.

93. 27 AUGUST 1582. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT ADMITTED A FREEMAN OF SOUTHAMPTON⁴.

*Gratia
admissus.*

Tempore Ricardi Biston Maioris. . . .

Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight was the xxviith daye of Auguste 1582 / admitted to be one of the Burgesses of the towne of Suthampton frank and free.

¹ John Dee, 'Diary', Bodleian, Ashmole MS. 487. Printed by Halliwell, p. 16, very corruptly.

² From here to the end the entry is crossed through. Unfortunately the ink used is of the same sort as that in which the entry was made and so infra-red photography is of no value in bringing up the original entry. The crossed-out portion, as far as it can be read, is as follows: '[] by []

[] therefore Because y^t Talbot would not fullfyll Sir George Peckams beyng the request for the obtaynyng of a w[] e [] r [. . .] Sir George Peckham belied Talbot in this very shorte by ye reportes notyed belowe. He confirmed that Talbot was a cosener, & had been himself [. . .] of my aqua'.

³ Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xcii, 406. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1580-6, no. 277.

⁴ Book of Oaths 1496-1704, freedoms, f. 47. Southampton Municipal Records.

94. [AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1582]. EXAMINATION OF DAVID INGRAM¹.

[f. 197] Certeyne questions to be demaunded of Davy Ingram, sayler, dwellinge at Barkinge in the countye of Essex / what he observed in his travell one the Northe side of the ryver of May where he remayned three monethes or there aboutes

1 Imprimis howe longe the sayed Ingram travyled one ye North side of the Ryver of May,

[In right hand margin] he hath confessed y^t he travelled there three monethes

2 Item whether that country be frutfull, and what kinde of frutes there be

[In right hand margin] he hath confessed y^t it is excedinge frutefull and that there is a tre as he called it a planten tree, which of the leaves thereof beinge pressed will come a very excellent lycor as pleasant to drincke and as good, as any kinde of winne. /

3 Item what kinde of bestes and cattell he sawe there. /

He hath confessed, y^t he sawe a beast in all pointes like unto a horse, savinge he had two longe tuskes, of which beast he was put in great dawnger of his lyfe, but he escaped by clyminge a tree Also that there be wyld horses of goodly shape, but the people of the country have not the use of them Further that there, be shepe, which beareth redde woole, sume thinge course. / there flesh good to eat, but is very redde. /

4 Item what kind of people there be, and how they be aparr-elled

He hath confessed y^t farre into the land there be many pleople [*sic*], and that he sawe a towne halfe a myle longe, and hath many streates farre broader then any streat in London. /

Further y^t the men gooe naked savinge only the myddell part of them covered, with skynnes of bestes, and with leaves, And that genirallye all men weare about there armes dyvers hoopes of gold and silver which are of good thicknes. / and lykwyse they weare the lyke about the samle [*sic*] of there legges. / which

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, SP 12/175, 95.

hoopes are garnished with pearle, dyvers of them as bigge as ones thume. /

That the womenne of the countrie, gooe aparyled, with plates of gold over there body much lyke unto an armor, about the myddest of there bodye they weare, leafes, which hath growinge there one very long much lyke unto heare. / and lykwyse a bout there armes and the smale of there legges they weare hoppes of gold and sylver, garnyshed with fayer pearle. /

[f. 197v] 5 Item what kind of buyldinges, and howses they have.

He hath confessed y^t they buyld there howses round lyke a dowhouse and hath in like manner a lover on the toppes of there howses / and that there be many pillors that upholdeth many thinges, of gold and silver very massye and great, and lykewise many pyllors of Cristall /

[In left hand margin] Sir Humfrye Gylbertes man which he sent to discover y^t land reporteth there howses to be buylt in lyke mannor rounde. /

6 Item whether there is any quantitey of gold, silver and pearle, and of other jewelles in that country. /

He hath confessed that there is great aboundaunce of gold sylver and pearle, and that he hath seanne at the heades of dyvers springes and in smale rounninge broukes dyvers peaces of gold some as bigge as his fynger, others as bigge as his fyst and peaces of dyvers bignes. /

Further that he hath seanne greate aboundaunce of pearle and dyvers straunge stones of what sort or valewe he knewe not. /

7 Item whether he sawe a beaste farre exceydinge an ox in bignes. /

He hath confessed that there be in that country great aboundaunce of a kinde of beast almost as bigge agayne as an oxe, in shape of body not much differinge from an oxe, savinge that he hath eares of a great bignes, that are in fashone much like unto the eares of a bloudhound having there on very longe heare, and lykwyse on his breast, and other partes of his bodye longe heare. /

[In left hand margin] Sir H: Gylbertes man brought of the hydes of this beast from the place he discovered. /

Further he hath reported of dyvers kindes of wyld beastes whose skynnes are very rich furies / lykwyse of dyvers kindes of frutes, and trees, of great eastimatione.

That there is a tree which beareth a frute lyke an aple, but is poyson to eate for the aple beinge broken there is a blacke lycor in the mydest thereof / Also that there is a tree that the barcke thereof tasteth lyke pepper.

Divers other matters of great importaunce he hath confessed (yf they be true) which he sayeth that upon his lyfe, he offereth to goe to the place, to aprove the same true. /

Endorsed:—Questions to be demanded of David Ingram concerning his knowledge of a discovery¹.

95. [AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1582]. THE RELATION OF DAVID INGRAM².

[p. 557] The Relation of David Ingram of Barking in the Countie of Essex Sayler³, of sundry things which he with others did see, in traveling by land from the most northerly partes of the Baie of Mexico⁴ (where he with many others were set on shoare by Master Hawkins) through a great part of America, untill he came within fiftie leagues or thereabouts of Cape Britton⁵.

About the beginning of October, Anno 1568. David Ingram with the rest of his company being 100. persons in all, were set on land by M. John Hawkins, about sixe Leagues to the West⁶

¹ Endorsement in different hand.

² Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (1589), pp. 557-62. Not reprinted in the edition of 1598-1600. Purchas (*Hakluytus Posthumus*, xvi, 112) says 'As for David Ingrams perambulation to the north parts, Master Hakluyt published the same but it seemeth some incredibilities of his reports caused him to leave him out in the next impression, the reward of lying not to be believed in truths'. A collation with the manuscript version in BM, Sloane MS. 1447, ff. 1-11, is given. Minor differences in spelling have not been noted, except for proper nouns.

³ 'beinge nowe abowt the age of fortye yeares', Sloane MS. 1447, f. 1.

⁴ Here and elsewhere 'Mezico', Sloane MS. 1447, f. 1.

⁵ 'which he reported unto Sir Frauncys Walsingham knight her majestes principall Secretarye and to Sir George Peckham knight and dyvers others of good judgment and Creditt in August and September Anno Domini 1582'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 1.

⁶ '& by the northe'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 1.

of the river La Mina¹, or Rio de Minas, which standeth about 140. leagues west & by North from the cape of Florida, who traveling towards cape Britton², spent about 12³. moneths in the whole, And about seven monethes thereof in those Countries, which lie towards the North of the river of May⁴, in which time (as the said Ingram thinketh) he traveled by land two thousand miles at the least, and never continued in any one place above three or foure dayes, saving onely at the Citie of Balma, where he stayed sixe or seven dayes.

Kings.

There are in those parts (sayth he) very many Kings, commonly within a hundreth or a hundreth and twenty miles one from an other, who are at continual warres together: The first King that they came before, dwelt in a Countrey called Giricka, who caused them to be stripped naked, and wondring greatly at the whitenes of their skins, let them depart without further harme,

*Large
precious
stones.*

The Kings in those Countries are clothed with painted or colloured garments, and thereby you may know them, and they weare great precious stones, which commonly are Rubies, being 4. inches long and two inches broad. And if the same bee taken from them, either by force or Sleight, they are presently deprived of their kingdomes.

*The Kings
in their
majestie.*

When they meane to speake with any person publicly, they are alwaies carried by men in a sumptuous chaire of Silver or Christal, garnished with divers sortes of precious stones.

*The maner
of saluting
their
kings.*

And if you will speake with the king at your first approaching neere to him, you must kneele downe on both your knees, and then arise againe and come somewhat neerer him, within your length then kneele downe againe as you did before. Then take of the earth or grasse between both your hands, kissing the backside of each of them, and put the earth or grasse on the crowne of your head, and so come, & kiss the kings feete. Which circumstances being perfourmed, you may then arise and stand up, and talke with him.

¹ 'Camina'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 1.

² 'He hathe travayled in those Countries from terra florida extendinge towards the Cape Britton'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 1.

³ 'eleaven'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 1.

⁴ Here and elsewhere 'Maii'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 1.

The Noble men and such as be in special favour with the king, do commonly waere feathers in the haire of their heads for the most part, of a Byrde, as bigge as a goose of russet collour. And this is the best marke that this Ingram can give to know him by. *How to know the noble men.*

There is in some of those Countries great aboundance of pearle, for in every cottage he found pearle, in some a quart, in some a pottle, in some a pecke, more or lesse, where he did see some as greate as a beane. And Richard Browne one of his compagnons, found one of these great pearles in one of ther Canoes or boats, which pearle he gave to Monsier Campain, who tooke them aboard his ship, and brought them to Newhaven in France. *Pearle.*

All the people generally do weare Manilios¹ or Bracelets, as big as a mans finger, upon each [p. 558] of their armes, and the like on the small of eche of their legs, whereof commonly one is golde and two silver. *Bracelets of Gold.*

And many of the women also doe weare plates of golde, cōvering their bodies in maner of a payre of curets, and many bracelets and chaines of great pearle. *Curets of golde.*

The people commonly are of good favour, feuter² & shape of body. of growth above five foote high, somewhat thicke, with their faces and skins of colour like an oliefe, and toward the North somewhat tawnie, but some of them are painted with divers colours, they are very swift of foote, the haire of their heads is shaven in sundry spots, and the rest of their head is traced. *The favour and shape of the people.*

In the South partes of these countreys they go all naked, saving that the Noble mens privities are covered with the necke of a goorde, and the womens privities with the hayre or leafe of the palme tree. But in the North partes they are clothed with beastes skins, the hayrie side being next to their bodies in winter. *Naked people.*

They are so brutish & beastly, that they wil not forbear the use of their wives in open presence. *Brutish behaviour.*

They are naturally very courteous, if you do not abuse them, either in their persons or goods, but use them courteously. The killing or taking of their beasts, birds, fishes or fruites cannot *People courteous.*

¹ 'Manyliions'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 2.

² 'feture'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 2.

offende them, except it be of their cattell which they keepe about their houses, as Kine, Guinie hennes, or such like.

*A sure
token of
friendship.*

If any of them doe holde up both their hands at length together, and kisse the backes of them on both sides, then you may undoubtedly trust them, for it is the greatest token of friendship that may be.

*Messen-
gers from
the king.*

If any of them shall come unto you with a horse taile in his hand, then you may assure your selfe he is a Messenger from the King, to him you may safely commit your person or go to the king or any where els, or by him send any thing or message to the king. For these men are alwayes either Ensigne bearers in the warres, or the kings messengers, who will never betray you.

*To allure
the people
to speech.*

If you will have any of the people come aborde your ship, hang out some white cloth upon a staffe, for that is a signe of amitie.

*The maner
of trafique
and deal-
ing with
them.*

If you will bargaine for ware with them, leave the thing that you will sell, upon the ground, and goe from it a pretie way off : then wil they come and take it, and set downe such wares as they will give for it in the place: And if you thinke it not sufficient, then leave their wares with signes that you like it not, and they will bringe more, untill either they or you be satisfied, or will give no more. Otherwise you may hang your wares on a long poles end, and so putt more or lesse on it, untill you have agreed on the bargaine.

*Howe they
march in
battell.*

When they goe to the warres, they march in battell array two and three in a ranck.

*Their
weapons
and in-
struments
for warre.*

Their Trumpets they doe make of certaine beasts¹ teeth, they have a kinde of Drum which they make of beastes skins, they make shields and Targets of the skins of beastes, compassed with willowe twigs, and being dried, they are strong and defensible.

Their weapons are dartes headed with yron, the heads are two fingers broad, and halfe a foote long, which are fastend within a socket.

They have also short bowes, strung with ye barke of trees, being halfe an ynch broad, & the arrowes are of bone² a yarde

¹ 'Eliphantes'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 3.

² 'a bone'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 3v.

long, knocked and headed with silver & bone, and their arrows are of small force within a stones cast of them, and you may put them by with a staffe a pretie way off.

They have short broad swordes of blacke yron of the length of a yarde, or very neere an elle, bearing edges thicker then backs of knives, somewhat like the foyles in our fence schooles.

They have crooked knives of yron, somewhat like a wood-knife, or hanger, wherewith they will carve excellently both in wood and bone.

Their Ensigne is a horse taile, with glasse or Christall in some of them being dyed in sundry colours, as red, yellow, greene &c.

The people in those Countreys are professed enemies of the Canibals¹. The Canibals doe most inhabite betweene Norumbega, & Barinia², they have teeth like dogs teeth, and thereby you may know them. In the warres they doe pitch their campe as neere as they may unto some wood of Palme tree, which yeelde them meate, drinke, and present remedy against poysoned arrowes.

Their buildings are weake and of small force, their houses are made round like Dove houses, and they doe dwell together in Townes and Villages. And some of them have banqueting houses on the top of them made like the loover of a hall, builded with pillars of massie silver, and chrystall, framed square: whereof many of them are as big as a boyes leg of fiftene³ yeeres of age, and some lesse. *Their³ houses and buildings.*

This Ingram did also see divers Townes and Villages, as Gunda, a Towne a flight shoot in length *Townes and Villages.*

Ochala, a great Towne a mile long.

Balma, a rich Citie, a mile and a halfe long.

Bega, a Countrey and Towne of that Name, three quarters of a mile long, where are good store of Oxe hides.

Saguanah⁴, a Towne almost a mile in length.

Barinie⁵, a Citie a mile and a quarter long: Also there is a

¹ Omitted in Sloane MS. 1447, f. 4.

² 'Norumbega & Barimashe'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 4.

³ 'Townes'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 4.

⁴ 'xvi'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 4.

⁵ 'Saguanathe'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 4.

⁶ 'Bariniath'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 4v.

River and a Towne of that name, but lesse then the first above named¹.

Guinda², a small Towne and a River, both of that name. And this is the most Northerly part, that this Ingram was at.

There³ are besides those Townes forenamed, many other great Townes which this Ingram passed by, commonly distant sixe or eight miles one from the other, which have divers small Villages within eight or ten miles from them.

*Vessels of
massie
silver, for
common
uses.*

They have in every house scoupes, buckets, and divers other vessels of massie silver, wherewith they doe throwe out water and dust, and otherwise doe imploy them to their necessary uses in their houses: All which this Ingram did see common and usuall in some of these Countreys, especially where he found the great Pearles.

*Gold in
the heads
of Rivers.*

There are also great rivers, at the heads whereof, this Ingram & his companions did find sundry pieces of golde, some as big as a mans fist, the earth being washed away with the water.

*Rocks of
chrySTALL.*

And in other places, they did see great rockes of Chrystal, which grewe at the heads of great and many Rivers, being in quantitie to loade shippes.

*Fine
Furres.*

There are in those partes, plentie⁴ of fine Furres unknownen to this Ingram, dressed after the manner of the Countrey.

*Sweete
turfe to
burne.*

The people there doe burne a kinde of white Turfe or earth, which they dig out of the marishes, a fadome deepe in the ground. It burneth very cleare, and smelleth as sweete as muske, and that earth is as wholesome, sweet and comfortable, to smell unto, as any Pomander. They do make their fire of this earth for the sweetnes thereof, having great aboundance of wood.

*Their
maner of
kindling
fire.*

When they want fire, they take briers, and rub them very hard together betweene their fists, and so with hard and often rubbing they kindle and make fire.

*Iron and
Minerall
salt.*

They have great plentie of Iron, and there is also great plentie of minerall salt, in the marish ground which looketh reddish, a

¹ 'mencyoned'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 4v.

² 'Gunda'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 4v.

³ This paragraph is omitted in Sloane MS. 1447, f. 4v.

⁴ 'great plentie'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 4v.

thing necessary for the great fishings neere the sea shore, which are there abundant, and the fish very large and huge.

The ground & Countrey is most excellent, fertile and pleasant & specially towards the River of May. For the grasse of ye rest is not so greene, as it is in these partes, for the other is burnt away with the heate of the Sunne. And as all the Countrey is good and most delicate, having great plaines, as large & as farre in many places as may be seene, being as plaine as a board: And then great & huge woods, as cedar, Lignum vite, Bombasse, plants & busshes, bark¹ that biteth like Pepper, (of which kind young M. Winter² brought home part from ye straight of Magelane) with the fruitfull Palme tree & greate plentie of other sweete trees to this Ingram unknowen. And after that plains again, and in other places great closes of pasture, environed with most delicate trees in stead of hedges: they being as it were set by the hands of men: Yet the best grasse is for the most parte in the high Countries, somewhat farre from the Sea side and great Rivers, by reason that the lowe grounds there be so rancke, that the grasse groweth faster then it can be eaten, whereby the olde grasse lieth withered thicke, the newe grasse growing through it. Whereas the upper partes, the grasse and ground is most excellent and greene. The ground not being overcharged with any olde withered grasse, as is afore specified.

The fertilitye of the Soyle.

Plaines. Great woods.

Palmes³.

Closes and pastures.

The Palme tree aforesayd carieth hayres on the leaves thereof, which reach to the ground, Whereof the Indians doe make ropes and cords for their Cotten beds, and do use the same to many other purposes.

The Palme Tree.

The Tree, if you pricke with your knife, about two foote from the roote, it will yeelde a Wine, in coloure like whey, but in taste strong somewhat like Bastard, which is most excellent drinke. But will distemper both your head and body, if you drinke too much thereof, as our strong Wines will doe in these partes.

Wine of the Palme.

¹ 'ceadre, date trees, Lignum vite, Bombasse, plantens & busshes and alsoe great abundaunce of those trees which carrye a thicke barke'. Sloane MS. 1447, ff. 5-5v.

² John Winter, nephew of Sir William Winter, commanded the *Elizabeth* in Drake's expedition of 1577. He returned by the Straits of Magellan. *DNB*.

³ Omitted in Sloane MS. 1447, f. 5v.

Meate of the Palme. The branches of ye top of ye tree are most excellent meate raw, after you have pared away ye bark.

Oyle against poysoned arrowes. Also there is a red oyle that commeth out of ye roote of this tree, which is most excellent against poisoned arrowes, & weapons: for by it they doe recover themselves of their poysoned wounds.

The Plantine with his fruits. There is also a tree called a Plantine, with a fruite growing on it like a pudding, which is most excellent meate rawe.

[p. 560¹] They have also a red berry like a Pescod², two or three ynches long, which groweth on those bushes full of prick³s like the Sloe or Thorne tree, and the fruite eateth like a greene Raisin, but sharper somewhat: They stampe this berry and make Wine thereof, which they keepe in vessels made of woodde.

Vines with great Grapes. They have also in many places, Vines which beare Grapes as big as a mans thumbe.

Herbs and flowers. There is also great plentie of herbes, and of all kinds of flowers, as Roses, and Gilleflowers, like ours in England, and many others which he knewe not.

Graine⁴. Also, they have a kind of Graine, the eare whereof is as big as the wrist of a mans arme: the Graine is like a flat pease, it maketh very good bread and white.

Bread of the Cassava⁵. They doe also make bread of the roote called Cassava, which they doe drie, and beate it as small as they can, and temper it with water, and so bake it in cakes on a stone.

Beasts of sundry kindes. There is also great plenty of Buffes, Beares, Horses, Kine, Woolves, Foxes, Deare, Goats, Sheepe, Hares, and Conies: Also other cattell like ours⁶, to this Examine unknownen, the most part being wilde: the Hides and skinn⁷es of them are good Marchandize. There is very greate store of those Buffes, which are beasts as bigge as two Oxen in length almost twentie foot, having long eares like a Blood hound, with long haire about

¹ In margin, 'Guiathos a wholesome fruite'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 6.

² 'called Guiathos'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 6.

³ 'shoarte bushes full of prickles'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 6.

⁴ 'Naize'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 6v.

⁵ 'Cassada Tree'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 6v.

⁶ 'and very many unlike ours'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 6v.

⁷ 'Valla'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 6v.

their eares, their hornes be crooked like Rams hornes, their eyes blacke, their haire long, blacke, and roughe & shagged as a Goat. The Hides of these beasts are solde very deare, this Beast doeth¹ keepe companie onely by couples, male and female, & doeth allwayes fight with others of the same kinde² when they do meete. There is also plentie³ of Deare both red, white, and speckled. This last sort this Examine knoweth not. There is also great plentie of another kinde of Sheepe which carie a kind of course wooll: This Sheepe is very good meate, although the flesh be very red. They are exceeding fatte, and of nature loth to rise when they are laid, which is alwayes from five a clocke⁴ at night, untill five a clock in the morning: betweene which time you may easily kill them, but after they be on foote they are very wilde, & rest not in one place, but live together in heards, in some 500, as it happeneth, more or lesse: And these red Sheape are most about the bay of Saint Marie, as this Examine gesseth. There are Beares both blacke and white. There are Woolves. The Foxes have their skins more grisled then ours in England. There are Conies both white and red, and grey in every place great plentie.

*Deere.
Sheepe
bearing
wooll the
flesh red.*

This Examine did also see in those Countries a Monstrous beast twice as big as an Horse, and in proportion like to an Horse, both in maine, hoofe, haire, and neighing, saving it was small towards the lower⁵ partes like a Grey hound. These Beasts hath two teeth or hornes of a foote long growing straight forth by their nosethrilles: they are naturall enemies to the Horse.

*A strange
Beast.*

Hee did also see in that Countrey both Elephants and Ounces. Hee did also see one other strange Beaste bigger then a Beare, he had neither head nor necke: his eyes and mouth were in his breast. This beast is very ugly to beholde, and cowardly of kinde. It beareth a very fine skin like a Rat, full of silver haire.

*Elephants
and
Ounces⁶.
A strange
shapen
Beast.*

¹ 'these Beastes doe'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 7.

² Next four words omitted in Sloane MS. 1447, f. 7.

³ 'great plentie'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 7.

⁴ 'five of the clock'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 7.

⁵ 'hinder'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 7v.

⁶ 'Uunces'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 7v.

*Russet
Parots.
Birds like
ours.
Guinie
hens.*

*A red
Bird.*

Penguins.

*A great
strange
bird.*

Tempests.

*Furi-
canos⁵.*

Turnados.

There are also in those Countries abundance of Russet Parrots, but very fewe Greene. There are also Birds of all sortes as we have, and many strange Birds to this Examine unknowne. There are great plenty of Guinie hennes which are tame Birds, and proper to the Inhabitants, as big as Geese, very blacke of colour, having feathers like Downe. There is also a Bird called a Flamingo, whose feathers are very red, and is bigger then a Goose, billed like a Shovell¹, and is very good meate. There² is also another kinde of Foule in that Countrey which hunteth³ the Rivers neere unto the Ilands: They are of the shape and bignesse of a Goose but their wings are covered with small yelow⁴ feathers, and cannot flie: You may drive them before you like sheepe: They are exceeding fatte and very delicate meate, they have white heads, and therefore the Countrey men call them Penguins (which seemeth to be a Welsh name). And they have also in use divers other Welsh words, a matter worthy the noting. There is also a very strange Bird, thrise as big as an Eagle, very beautifull to beholde, his feathers are more orient then a Peacockes feathers, his eyes are glistering as an Hawkes eyes, but as great as a mans eyes, his head and thigh as big as a mans head and thigh: It hath a crest and tuffe of feathers of sundry colours on the top of the head like a Lapwing hanging backwards: His beake and talents in proportion like egles, but very huge and large.

Touching Tempests and other strange monstrous things in those partes, this Examine sayth, that he hath seene it Lightning and Thunder in sommer season by the space of foure & twentie houres together: the cause whereof he judgeth to be the heate of the Climate.

He further saith, that there is a Cloud sometime of the yeere seene in the ayre, which commonly turneth to great Tempests. And that sometimes of the yeere there are great windes in maner [p. 561] of Whirlewindes⁶.

¹ 'Showeler'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 7v.

² In margin, 'Penguins' instead of below. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 7v.

³ 'hauntethe'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 7v.

⁴ 'callowe'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 8.

⁵ This and the following word omitted from margin. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 8.

⁶ 'Hurlewyndes'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 8v.

Touching their Religion, he saith that they honor for their God a Devil, which they calle Colluchio², who speaketh unto them sometimes in the likeness of a blacke Dogge, and sometimes in the likenesse of a black Calfe.

*The¹
maner of
Religion.*

And some doe honor the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres.

He sayith y^t the people in those Countries are allowed many Wives, some five, some tenne, & a king sometimes an hundred: And y^t Adulterie is very severely punished in maner following, that is to say: The woman taken in adulterie, must with her owne hands cut ye throte of the Adulterer, and the next of his kindred doth likewise cut ye throte of the Adulteresse, And being asked in what maner they take their executions, he saith: That they are brought to execution by certain Magistrates, who do deliver unto ye woman the knife, wherewith she cutteth ye throte of the Adulterer.

*Adulterie
punished
with
death.*

Then appeareth their Colluchio or Devil, in the likenesse aforesaid, and speaketh unto them, and to that Devil the parties brought to execution doe great reverence, and with many prayers to it doe take their death.

He saith that such persons as are put to death in such sort, have not any of their frends buried with them: but such as die naturally, have alwayes buried quicke with them one of their dearest friendes to keepe them companie, and to provide necessities and victuall for them, who doe willingly consent thereto, being thereto perswaded by their Colluchio or Devil, whom they do worship.

*Their
maner of
Burials.*

He saith further, that he & his two fellowes, namely Richard Browne, and Richard Twide³, went to a poore mans house, & there they did see the said Colluchio or Devil, with very great eyes like a blacke Calfe: Upon the sight whereof, Browne saide, There is the Devil, and thereupon he blessed himself: In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, And Twide said very vehemently, I defie thee and all thy workes. And presently the Colluchio shrancke away in a stealing maner forth of the doores, and was seene no more unto them.

*The Devil
fled away
at the
name of
the holy
Trinitie.*

¹ 'There'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 8v.

² Here and elsewhere 'Collochio'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 8v.

³ Here and elsewhere 'Twyde'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 9.

*Great
Rivers.*

Also they passed over many great Rivers in those Countries, in Canoes or Boates: some foure, some sixe, some eight, some tenne miles over: whereof one was so large, that they could scarce crosse the same in foure and twentie houres.

*Musicall
instru-
ments.*

Also he saith, that in the same Countrie, the people have instruments of Musicke made of a peece of a Cane, almost a foote long, being open at both endes: which sitting downe, they smite upon their thighes and one of their handes, making a pleasant kind of sound.

And they do use an other kind of instrument like a Taber¹, covered with a white skinne somewhat like Parchment.

This Examine can very well describe their gestures, dauncing, and songs.

After long travaile, the aforesaide David Ingram with his two companions Browne and Twide, came to the head of a river called Garinda², which is 60. Leagues West from Cape Britton³: where they understood by the people of that Countrey of ye arrivall of a Christian. Whereupon they made their repaire to the Sea side, and there found a French Captaine named Monsieur Champaigne⁴, who tooke them into his Shippe and brought them unto Newhaven; & from thence they were transported into England, Anno. Dom. 1569.

*Silver in
exchange
of trifles.*

This Monsieur Champaigne, with divers of his companie was brought into ye Village of Beriniah, about twentie miles up into the Countrie by ye said Examine and his two Companions, by whose meanes he had a trade with the people of divers sortes of fine furies, & of great redde leaves of trees almost a yard long, & about a foote broade, which he thinketh are good for dying.

Also the said Monsieur Champaigne, had there for exchange of trifling wares, a good quantitie of rude, and wrought⁵ silver.

He saith further, that divers of the said Frenchmen which were in the said Shippe called the Gargarine, are yet living in

¹ 'Tabbar'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 9v.

² Blank for name. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 9v.

³ On the map this would mean west to the modern Northumberland Strait or south-west to the site of Halifax.

⁴ Here and elsewhere 'Champaine'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 9v.

⁵ 'wnwrought'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 10.

Homflewre¹ upon the coast of France, as he thinketh, for he did speake with some of them within these three yeeres.

About a fourtnight after their coming from Newhaven into England, this saide Examinee and his two companions came to master John Hawkins, who had set them on shore upon the Baie of Mexico, and unto eche of them he gave a reward.

Richard Browne his companion was slaine about five yeeres past in the Elizabeth of master Cockins² of London: And Richard Twide his other companion died at Ratcliffe in John Sherewoods house there, about three yeeres past.

| | | | |
|----------|---|---|--|
| [p. 562] | { | <p>Gwando³. Is a worde of Salutation, as among 'us Good Morrowe, Good even, God save you or⁴ suchlike. Cariconas⁵. A King. Caracona⁶. A Lord. Fona⁷. Bread. Carmugnar⁸. The Privities. Kerucca⁹. The Sunne.</p> | <p><i>The language of some of the Countreis.</i></p> |
|----------|---|---|--|

Also the sayd David Ingram traveling towards the North, found the maine sea upon the Northside of America, and travailed in the sight thereof the space of two whole dayes, where the people signified unto him, that they had seene shippes on that coast, and did draw upon the ground the shape and figure of shippes, and of their sailes and flagges. Which thing especially proveth the passage of the Northwest, and is agreeable to the experience of¹⁰ Vasques de Coronado, which found a shippe of China or Cataia¹¹ upon the Northwest of America.

Also the sayd examinee sayth, that there is an Iland called *Corrasau Iland*¹².

¹ Blank for name. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 10.

² 'Cockens'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 10.

³ 'Guando'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 10v.

⁴ 'and'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 10v.

⁵ 'Garriccona'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 10v.

⁶ 'Garraccona'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 10v.

⁷ 'Tona'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 10v.

⁸ 'Carmugnaz'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 10v.

⁹ 'Kerrucca'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 10v.

¹⁰ 'the Spanishe Captaine'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 10v.

¹¹ 'Caytaia'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 10v.

¹² Curaçao?.

Corrasau, and there are in it five or six thousand Indians at the least, and all those are governed by one onely Negro, who is but a slave to a Spaniard. And moreover the Spanyardes will send but one of the slaves with an hundred or two hundred of the Indians¹, when they goe to gather golde in the Rivers descending from the mounataines. And when they shal be absent by the space of twentie or thirty dayes at the least, every one of the Indians will neverthesse obey all the Slaves commaundements with as great reverence as if he were their naturall King, although there be never a Christian neere them by the space of an hundred or two hundred miles: which argueth the great obedience of those people, and how easily they may be governed when they be once conquered.

96. [AUGUST–SEPTEMBER 1582]. REPORTS OF THE COUNTRY
SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT GOES TO DISCOVER².

[f. 3] Reportes of ye Contrie Sir Humfrey Gilbert goes to discover³.

[1. David Ingram's examination.]

[f. 4] Concerninge the People.

The people are of disposition curteously given yf you use them curteusly and not abuse them eyther in their persons or goodes.

The killinge and takinge of⁴ beastes, byrdes, Fishes, or frutes, cannot offende them, except it be their domesticall beastes, for they doe milke some of them.

Yf any of them doe holde up both their handes at lengthe together, and shall kysse the backe of them on both sides, then you maye undoubtably trust them: For that is the greatest token

¹ 'two hundred Indians'. Sloane MS. 1447, f. 11.

² State Papers Colonial. CO 1/1, ff. 3–10, incorporating one page removed from State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, SP 12/185, 88. It has been collated with Calthorpe MS. 162, ff. 161–6. This copy is almost identical with that printed above and derives from the papers of Robert Beale, Clerk of the Privy Council under Elizabeth.

³ 'Sondrie Reportes of the contrie which Sir Humfrie Gilberte goeth to discover'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 161.

⁴ 'either of'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 161.

of their fidelity that may be. which yf they breake, they dye for the same.

Yf any of them doe happen to come to you with a horse taylor in his hande, then you may assure yourself he is a messenger: And with him you may safely committ your persons to goe any whithr, or by him sende any thinge to the kinge &c. For those men be allwayes eyther Auncient bearers in their warres, or messengers as aforesayde, and will never betray you.

Yf you will have any of them come aboorde you, hange out some Cloth¹ or thinge, for that is a signe of Amitye.

And yf you will barter wares with them, then leave the thinge you will sell, on the grounde, and goe from it a pretty waye. Then [when] they come and take it, and sett doune such wares as they will [give] for it in the place. Yf you thinke it not sufficient, then leave their wares with signes that you like it not. And then they will bringe more untill eyther they or you be satisfied or will give no more. Or else you may hange your wares on a longe pike or pooles ende and so putt more or lesse on it till you have agreed on the bargaine and they will hange out their wares on a pooles² ende in like maner.

Ballivo is a worde of salutacion, as amonge us good even, or good morrowe, god save you, or some such like.

Note

There is a kinde of people, which when any of them is sicke and like to dye, they of the nexte of his kinne, doe cutt his throte, and all his kinne must drinke up his bloude, and so amoungst them eate up his bodye. For they make a relligion to have none of his bloudde lost. These be a curteous people, and no men eaters.

The kinges are allwaies clothed or covered with some painted or colourde garment, and by that you shall knowe him. Besides when he commeth to speake with any body, he is caried by or betweene men.

And allwaies yf any man doe weare any fethers in the haire of

¹ 'white clothe'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 161.

² 'pole'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 161.

their headdes, then are they undoutedly, eyther noble men or principall gentlemen in favor with the kinge.

[f. 4v] They have knives crooked like a sicke made of yron, with which they will carve most excellentlye, both in wood and bone. They doe make a kinde of Trumpett of Oliphantes teeth, which they use in the warres, where in they marche with 3 or 4 in a ranke.

They have a kinde of dromme which they make of skinnes & wycker.

They doe allso make shieldes of thicke skynnes of beastes, layde in sault and compassed to the purpose with styckes, which beinge dried are very stronge and defensible.

Their weapons are dartes headded with iron with a blade ii fingers broade, and haulf a foote longe, that is fastend with sockett.

They have also short bowes stronge with the barke of trees, of haulf an inche brode, but the arrowes are above a yarde longe, nocked and headded the moste parte of them with sylver. There is no force of their arrowes within a stones cast of them, and you may putt them by with a staffe or a sticke.

Their Auncient in the warres is a horsetayle, with a glasse or peece of christall in some of them. The haire beinge died with sundry collours.

Note.

There was given to the Capten Champion of Newhaven in Fraunce for one of those tayles, a hundred peeces of silver. And a peece is viii ounces as he said he had hearde.

They have short brode swordes of blacke yron of the length very neere of a yarde, which is edged thicker then the backe of any of our backe swoordes.

Note.

The people are of growth tall and thicke, like Turkes with their faces and skinnes very red, but many of them painted with sundry coloures. They are very swyft of foote the haire of their heades is shaven or cutt¹ in sundry spaces, and the rest of their haire is traced.

¹ 'shutte'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 161v.

They doe goe all naked savinge the mens privities, covered with the barke of a gourde, and the womens privities with the leaf or haire of a Adalmita tree.

Note.

They doe honor for their god, a devill which speaketh to them somtime in likenes of a Caulf.

[f. 5] There are to be seene many times about the barre of St. Maries fire dragons¹, which make the ayre very red as they flye, but they doe neyther move tempest nor other hurte to his knowledge.

Note.

Divers men have many wives, some to the number of ten, and some more and some lesse. And yf any, eyther the men or women abuse eche other by incontynencie, thoffenders therein, are in this maner corrected. They lie both flatt on their backs, and their handes and legges being holde or tyed, the execucioner commeth and kneeleth on their breastes, and with a crooked knife cutteth both their throtes To which execucon this Reporter was an eye wytnes.

Howe you must behave your self to their kinges.

At your first approchinge neere them, kneele doune on both your knees and then aryse againe, and come somewhat neerer within your length then kneele againe as you did before. Then take of the earthe betweene both your handes, kyssing your handes on the backe² of eche of them, and putt the earthe or grasse on the crowne of your heades, and so come and kysse the kinges foote kneelinge [which] circumstaunce being ended, you may come and taulke with him without farther ceremonye.

The order of Choosinge their kinges in some places where this Reporter had travelled.

They have a lonnge red stone by estimacion as longe and as broad as a mans hande, which they call a Rubarbe. Which this Reporter thought to be a Rubye, in the ende of which is a hole, wherein they putt a stringe, and hange it about the necke of him,

¹ 'fyrre dragones'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 161v.

² 'backe sides'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 162.

whome they shall so choose to be their kinge. Which stone yf any by any meanes whatsoever doe steale from him, he who doth so stealle it shalbe kinge in his place, for the time that he shoulde so long have enjoyde the same which is but the space of foure or five yeares. And any kinge that hath this stone so stollen from him, is for the losinge of the same putt to death.

Of the Treasure of the People

All the people doe weare in effect their Manillions, hoopess & bracelettes and somtimes of massy golde, as bigge as a mans thumbe and somtimes bigger on every of their Armes, and the like on eyther of their legges whereof commonly three of them are massy golde and two of them sylver.

Also their women doe weare greate plattes of golde, coveringe in effect their whole bodies, somewhat like an Armour.

[f. 5v] Also they doe weare bracelettes and chaines of pearle whereof many of them are as bigge as a mans thumbe every waye.

They have amonngst them aboundaunce of pearle, for in every cottage you shall finde pearle, and in some houses a pecke, and in some more and in some lesse as it happeneth.

He saith that he had in his owne possession xxvii pearles every one as bigge as his thumbe as he thinketh.

They have sundry Canoas, which is their Boates, which boates are also farre up in the Countrey. In the moste parte of which boates you shall finde a scoupe of massy silver, wherewith they cast out their water.

They doe builde their houses rounde like Dovehouses, and do dwell together in villages. And he sawe one Toun almost a myle longe, and the streetes broder then London streetes, and have banquetting houses made on the toppe of them like the Lover of a haulte¹ in Englande. Many of these banquetting houses being built of Christall, and pillers of massy sylver and some of them of golde beaten square, whereof many of the pillers are as bigge as a mans legge, and some lesser², and some as longe as a Man, and some twyse as lonnge, annswerable to the height of the buildinge.

¹ 'in a hale'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 162v.

² Three words omitted. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 162v.

The people also have there many vesselles of sylver made like buckettes wherein they cary divers thinges.

They have fine disshes made of wood, as thinne as a paper leaf most artificially carved.

These people have also pottes of earth very fine, like unto Venice clay.

Note.

The greatest store of christall is in the toppe or heades of rivers where are greate rockes of it, sufficient to loade a greate fleete of shippes as he ymagineth.

Note.

There are in those partes most delicate and rare fures but what they were he knewe nott.

There are most goodly rivers, and in the heades of some of them he sawe sundry peeces of cleane golde, as bigge as a mans fyste, and some as big as an egge, and as a mans thumb, and some lesse. the earth havinge wasshed from it with the lande floudes, and waters which brought it out of the mynes.

[f. 6] The people doe make their fires most in those Countries of a kynde of turf or earth, which they do dig out of their marrish groundes or boges two or three foote deepe in the groundes: the which burned smelleth as sweete as muske, and is most holsome sweet¹ & comfort[able] to smell unto. hereof² the Reporter made a ball for the delicate smell thereof, and tied it unto his haire, hanging downe over his nose. The People doe make their fire of this earth although they have greate aboundance of wood, because of the sweete and holsome savour thereof.

There is greate plenty of yron.

They do melt metalles doune themselves, and (as he thinketh) through a plate of yron full of holes: casting the Ore upon the plate and making fire over and about it, and so the pure mettall falleth through the holes. he sawe them doe yt, but durst not appr[oche] neere to see the maner of that³ their workes.

There is greate aboundance of sylkewormes.

¹ Word omitted. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 162v.

² Whereof? Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 162v, has ' Herof '.

³ Word omitted. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 162v.

Note

The greatest wealth is, and most people do dwell somewhat farre up in the Country about xxx or xl leagues from the sea coste as he founde by his travell as farre as he went. And in the higher Countryes their greatest wealth is both for Mettalles and for good grasse. And there are but few people dwellinge neere the sea coast, so farre as he travelled which was most but very little on the sea coaste.

There is a Mountaine which lieth to the Northwardes of the sea coaste about xxx leages from the Bay of St Maries as he judgeth it, which is called Bauchovan¹ which seemed to be very riche of mynes both by the color thereof as by the plenty of sylver amonng the inhabitauntes of those partes.

There is also a very brode red leaf, whereof the frenchman that brought him home, brought greate store with them², which he supposeth to be good for dyeinge: but the certenty thereof he knewe not.

Note

The people do dive and fishe for pearle in three or foure fadome water which they have in oysters, and doe cover, when they dive, their heades and upper partes of their bodies with lether to their wastes, tyed fast about their middles, whereby they take ayre under the water.

[f. 6v] Of the grounde, Soyle and Countrye.

The grounde, and Country is most excellent and pleasaunt, speciallye towards the North of the river of May. The grasse to the rest of the Southwardes of it is not so greene as it is in those partes the rest being burned away with the heate of the sonne.

And the Country about the backside of the Cape of Florida is very barren and bare grounde for frutes, and the people in that place very churlish and cruell.

The people are also somethinge cruell towards the North of the river of Maye³, as about the river of St. Maries or the Northward of yt, where are some men eaters but not many.

¹ 'Bauchovan'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 163.

² 'him'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 163.

³ 'May'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 163v.

Note.

You shall knowe the men eaters by their teeth, for their teeth are longe and sharpe at the ende like doges teeth.

Note.

Yf you dig in some places of the Marryshe or lowe grounde you shall find innumerable sault, which looketh somewhat reddish in ye toppe thereof

and as all the Country is good and most delicate, compounded with greate plaines, as farre in many places as you may see and more, and that as plaine as a boorde, and then greate woodes, and after that, plaines againe.

And in some other places greate closes or pastures envioured with most delicate trees, as it were sett with hande of man in steede of our hedges.

Note.

Yet the best grasse is for the most parte in the hier countrey somewhat from the sea side and freshe waters, by reason that the lowe grounde there is so ranke and unmanured, that it maketh the grasse to growe faster then it is there eaten, whereby the olde grasse lieth withered there very thicke, the newe grasse growinge throughe yt. And in those upper Countries, the grasse and grounde is most excellent and greene, those groundes beinge not charged with any withered grasse, as is before specified.

[f. 7]

Of Trees.

There are in those Countries most goodly and excellent trees and woodes of sundry straunge sortes that he knewe not, as allso like to our trees in Europe.

And amonngst the rest there is great aboundaunce of *Lignum Vitae*, and sundry sweete woodes which he knewe not.

Also there is greate aboundaunce of those trees which caried a thicke barke and bytinge like pepper whereof younge Mr. Wynter brought home parte of such like ryndes.

Note.

The which tree carieth a frute like a Pinapple with prickles, but somewhat lesse, which is the delicatest frute to eate that maye be and you shall smell those trees a greate way of through their strongg hote and sweete savor.

There are also trees called the Palmita tree which cary haire on their leaves that reache to the grounde. The which¹ yf you pricke with a knife, it will yelde a wine, in coloure whitish, somewhat like Whaye, but in taste strongge somewhat like bastarde: the which is most excellent drinke, but will dis-temper by Dronkenes both your headdes and bodies yf you drinke too muche of yt, as our strongge Wines will doe in these partes.

The braunches of these trees toppe, is most excellent meate rawe afr you have pared away the barke thereof.

Also there is a redde oyle that commeth out of the roote of this tree, which is most excellent against their poysoned arrowes, and weapons for by it they doe onely cure themselves of their poysoned woundes.

They do use to drawe the licoure of those trees into gourde bottles, which they hange on the braunches thereof. Whereof every traveller knoweth which is stalest, and that is the best. Who havinge dronk thereof, doe againe fill the bottle, and hange the next stalest in the place.

There is also a tree called a Planten tree with a frute on it like a puddinge which is most excellent meate rawe, and when he is ripe, then he is yellowe of colloure.

[f. 7v] There is a greate aboundaunce of Brasyll trees

There is also greate plenty of Date trees.

Also greate aboundaunce of Orange and limon trees.

And there are many Pepper trees.

And there is plenty of Almonde trees.

There is also aboundaunce of bombasine or cotton trees, which yelde sufficient cotton to lade an infinite number of shippes.

There are greate plenty of woortes, and of all sortes of floures.

¹ 'the which tree'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 163v.

Of poyson.

There is in those Countries a poysonde frute yt groweth like an apple which beinge cutt or broken, the juice will come out very blacke like inke.

Of bread.

Their bread is onely made of the roote of a Cassado tree, which theye doe dry and beate as small as may be, and then doe temper it with water, and so bake it in cakes.

Of wyne.

They have also a wine which they make of a red berrye, that groweth in a codde like a Pescodde, aboute iii or iiii inches bygge which groweth on short trees and busshes full of prickles, like a sloe or thorne tree and the frute byteth like a greene rayson, but some what sharper. They pounne¹ this berrye, and so make thereof wine, which they keepe in thinges made of woodde.

Of Beastes.

There is greate plenty of wylde gotes.

Also greate plenty of kine and Cattell like ours, but they are all wylde.

There is greate plenty of wilde horsse.

Also greate plenty of sheepe like ours.

[f. 8] Also there is a greate plenty of a kinde of greate shepe which cary deepe wooll as red as bloud, whose hornes are very crooked and sharpe. This sheep is very good meatte, yet the flesshe very redde he is exceedinge fatt and of Nature very lothe to ryse when he is layde which is alwaies from five of the Clocke at night, untill² five in the Morninge. All that time you may easily kill him. But after he is up he is very wilde and resteth not in one place: but live togethers in hoardes³ more or less as it happeneth, as in some a thousand in some a hundred &c. These red shepe are most about the bay of St Maries or thereabout as he thought.

¹ 'punne'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 164.

² 'five a clocke of ye night to'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 164.

³ 'hearde'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 164.

There are great abundaunce of deere, both white, red, and of speckled colors the kindes of them he knewe not.

There are abundaunce of a kinde of greates beastes which are as big as two of our Oxen which have eares like a bloudhounde with longe haire about their eares. Their hornes are crooked like our Rammes hornes, their eyes are very blacke their haire very longe and roughe like a gote. And they kill those beastes thus. They have a forked yron which beinge fastned on a pole, and made very sharpe to cutt, they come behinde the beaste and howghe him. These beastes do kepe companie by cooples, male and female, and doe allwaies fight male to male, and female to female, when they meete with others of the same kinde.

There are greates plenty of Olyphantes, of whose teeth the people doe make Trumpettes for their warres, and he sawe tenne of them very neere together about the bay of St Maries.

There are beastes like unto a horse in every proporcion, savinge they be small towards the hinder legges like a grey hounde. The which have two teeth or hornes growinge straight out of or by their Nosethrilles. This beast is most cruell, and is maned, footed and haired and of all colours like a horsse; and will kyll the men yf they cannot well defende themselves from them which is best to be don by climing up a tree, for so he saved himself.

There are allso many ownces, which will allso kill men, and folowe them up the tree yf they cannot defende them from cominge up to them.

There are also Beares both blacke and white.

There are allso in abundaunce of cunnys in every place both white and gray but blacke he sawe none to his remembraunce.

[f. 8v] There is abundaunce of foxes with their skinnes of fayrer silver haire then ours in Englande.

There are some Monkies which he sawe the Country people play with all.

Of Birdes.

There are abundaunce of russett parrattes as big as the Common greater sort of greene parrattes, and to his remembraunce he did not see two greene parrattes in that his hole travaylle.

There are also byrdes of all sortes as we have in Englande, and manye straunge byrdes that he knewe nott.

There is a byrde called Flemingos which is very red fethered, and is bigger then a goose, and billed like a shoveler which is very good meate.

There are also Curlewes bigger then ours.

Also there are Larkes bigger then ours.

This examinate was ymbarked when he came home at the River called Banda, where he mett a french shippe of Newe-haven by chaunce who came within the sight of the Lyzarde within xx daies saylinge after they departed from the said Coaste.

The ende of David Ingrams Examinacion.

[2]. The Reportes of certeine that have travelled the aforesaid Countryes, with the note of such thinges as they have found there, over and above that which Ingram upon his examinacion did confesse. Whose names are Vererzanus¹ Jaques Cartier, John Barros, Andrewe Thevett John Walker, of which number Sir Humfrey Gylbert did conferre in person with the three last named.

For precious stones.

They have both Turqueses, Rubyes and Pearles.

They have also precious stones of divers colors to them unknowne.

They have also a stone called Elurgine, which stone is much esteemed there.

[f. 9] For other stones.

They have very harde marble, allablaster, Jasper, goodly Quarries of freestone, and straunge stones of glisteringe collours.

Of mettalles

Golde, sylver, Copper, Leadde, and Iron.

¹ 'Vererhamus'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 164v.

For Frutes.

They have gourdes, Cowcummers, Apples, Melons, muske Melons, Mulberres, Raspies, Straweberries Gooseberries, both white and red, damsons, Raysons both greate and small Figges, small spice like vire & Rubarbe.

For Gummes.

They have Rozen, Pitche, Tarre, Turpentine, Frankincense, Waxe and honny.

For hearbes

They have many sortes like ours in Englande and Fraunce as hempe, parslye, Roses white and redde, Dammaske roses and divers such like.

For Grayne.

They have Corne like Rye, Oates, Peasons, Myllett, Beanes of divers collours and other straunge Corne of good nourishment, and allso they have Mayes.

For Beastes.

They have hares, dogges, wilde swine, and a kynde of Beaste like a Connye, Bevers, Marterns, Badgers, Otters, Weeselles, wolves, a beaste called hu which is like a Bull.

For Fysshe

They have coddess, salmons, seales, Mackarell, Tortoyses, whales, horse fishe, Lambrye, Crabbes, Crevises, Lobsters and Eeles. Also they have a fishe like a greyhounde, and their fresshe Water is also full of other fishe.

For Trees

They have okes, Elmes, and White elmes, Beeche, Ashe, Willowe, Boxe, White thorne bearinge a berry as big as a Damson.

They have allso Bay, Cedres, Cypresse, Pines, Palme & Ewe.

They have also hasell Wallnutes and filberdes better then ours.

They have Pome, Cytrons, Damsons, Cherries and Vines that beare a berry bigger then ours.

[f. 9v] They have also a tree called Ameda, which healeth many diseases.

They have a tree called Cahene, which is good against poyson.

Of foules.

They have hawkes of all sortes, Partriges and Pheasauntes Bitterns heron, Woodcockes, small byrdes, blacke birdes thrustelles Turtles finches and nightingalles.

They have Duckes geese and swanne.

They have Pigeons Margans and Apponattes.

They have Cranes and big Crowes with red billes.

They have also goddyttes.

For Collors.

They have yelow, blue, red, scarlet Roue color, Bages of red color and also a roote called Avatie, that they dye red withall about Florida.

A kinde of marchandize which they have.

That is Deere skinnes wrought like braunched Dammaske.

They have also harttes skinnes painted & died of divers collours.

[3]. 1579. Simon Ferdinando mr. Secretary Walsinghams man went and came to and from the said coast within three monethes in the little Frigatt without any other consort, and arryved at Dartmouth where he ymbarkd when he beganne his viage.

Note.

[4].

1580

John Walker Englishman and his Company did discover, a silver mine within the River of Norumbega¹, on the North

¹ 'Norambega'. Calthorpe MS. 162, f. 165v.

shore upon a hill not farre from the river side about ix leagues from the mouth thereof where he founde the said river vii leagues or thereabout over and xviii fadome and haulf deepe. The river at the mouth beinge about x leagues broade, and xxv. fadome deepe withoute barre.

[f. 10] And the said river to holde that his breadthe so much farther then he was as he coulde possibly kenne. beinge by estimation about xx miles. The Country was most excellent both for the soyle, diversity of sweete woodes and other trees. Who also founde at the same time in an Indian house vii miles within the lande from the ryvere side above iii C. drye hides, whereof the most parte of them were eightene foote by the squire.

Both he and his Company sayled from the said cost into Englande in xvii. dayes.

Endorsed.:—Sondrie reports of the contrie which Sir Humfry Gilbert goeth to discover¹.

97. 1582. NOTES ON COMMODITIES FOUND IN NORTH AMERICA².

The names of certaine commodities growing in part of America, not presently inhabited by any Christians from Florida Northward, gathered out of the discourses, of Verarzanus, Thorne, Cartier, Ribalt, Thevet, and best, which have bin personally in those Countreys, and have seene these things amongst many others.

| BEASTES | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Leopardes. | Wolves. |
| Staggess. | Dogges. |
| Hartes. | A kinde of beast like a Conny. |
| Deare. | Beveres. |
| Beares. | Marterns. |
| Hares. | Foxes. |
| Wildeswine. | Bagers. |
| Connyes. | Otters. |
| White beares. | Weesels. |
| A beast farre bigger then an oxe. | A beast called Su being like a Bull. |

¹ No endorsement in Calthorpe copy.

² Hakluyt, *Divers voyages concerning the discoverie of America*, sig. K4-4v.

BIRDES

Haukes.
 Bitters.
 Curlewes.
 Herons.
 Woodcockes.
 Partridges.
 Small birdes.
 Plentie of foule for al pleasant
 game.
 Aporates.
 Blackbirdes.
 Cranes.
 Crowes like Cornish Choughes.
 Duckes.
 Godetes.
 Geese.
 Pigions.
 Margraves.
 Feasants.
 Swannes.
 Thrushes.
 Turtles.
 Fintches.
 Nightingales. &c.

FISHES

Coddes.
 Salmones.
 Seales.
 Makerels.
 Tortoyses.
 Whales.
 Horsefishes.
 A fish like a grayhound, good
 meate.
 Lampreys.
 Crabbes.
 Crefishes.
 Lobsters.

Eeles.

The rivers full of incredible
 store of all good fishe.

WORMES

Silk wormes fayre and great.

TREES

Bay.
 Cypres.
 Damson.
 Palme.
 Many trees yeelding swett sav-
 our.
 Okes.
 Nut trees.
 Firre.
 Vines.
 Cahene good against poyson.
 Cedars. { Hasell trees.
 Cheritrees. { Walnuttrees.
 Pepper trees.
 Ameda which healeth many dis-
 eases.
 Ashe { Elmes
 Boxe { Whitelmes
 Cidron { Pynes
 Yewe { Willowes
 Filbirdtrees better then ours.
 Whitethornes bearing a berrie as
 big as a Damson.
 Vines bearing a great grape.

FRUITES

Cowcubmers. { Guordes.
 Cytrons. { Mulberries.
 Raspis. { Almonds.
 Apples. { Melons.
 Damsons. { Figges.
 Reasons great and small.

Muske melons { Lemons.
 Oranges { Dates very
 great.
 Strawberries.
 Gooseberries red & white.

GUMMES

Rosen. { Pitche. Tarre.
 Turpentine. { Honnie.
 Frankencense. { Waxe.

SPICES AND DRUGGES

Pepper.
 Small spices like to vire.
 Reubarbe in Florida: diverse
 other kindes.

HEARBES AND FLOURES

Many sortes of herbes differing
 from ours.
 Many simples like those of
 Fraunce.
 Hempe.
 Parseley.

Roses. { Redde.
 { White.
 { Damaske.

GRAYNE AND PULSE

Corne like Rie. { Myllet.
 Oates. { Beanes of di-
 Peason. { vers coulers.
 Another strange corne of good
 nourishment.
 Maiz.

METALLES

Golde in good quantitie.
 Silver.
 Coper.
 Leade.
 many hils shew mineral matter.

PRECIOUS STONES

Turqueses.
 Rubies.
 Pearles great and faire.
 Precious stones of divers colours.
 Ciurgni a stone much esteemed
 there.
 Kiph a kind of stone shining
 bright.

OTHER STONES

Marble very hard. { Jasper.
 Alabaster. { Freestone.
 Quarries of glistring stones.

COLOURS

Yelow. { Redde.
 Blewe. { Scarlet.
 { Roane colour.
 Deareskinnes wrought like bran-
 ched Damaske.
 Harts skinnes paynted and died
 of divers colours:
 Bagges of red colours:
 A roote called Araty that they
 dye red withall in Florida.

SO AS THE COMMODITIES AL-
 READY KNOWN, BESIDES
 MANY YET UNKNOWN ARE
 THESE, AND THAT IN GREAT
 QUANTITIE.

Fleshe. { Fruites.
 Fishe. { Grayne.
 Beveradges or drink of divers
 sortes.

Golde. { Copper.
 Silver. { Lead.
 { Furies.
 Pearles. { Feathers.
 Spices. { Gummes.
 Drugges. { Oyles.

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| Silke. | Hartes skinnes painted. |
| Hides undressed. | Stones for fayre building. |
| Beasts skins wrought like | Precious stones. |
| Damaske. | Colours. |
| Lether died. | All kinds of good wood. |

98. 1 NOVEMBER 1582. JOHN DEE'S DEALINGS WITH SIR GEORGE PECKHAM¹.

The same day cam Mr Clement the seamaster & Mr Ingram from Sir George Peckhams.

99. 2 NOVEMBER 1582. AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT AND THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS².

Articles Bipartite Indented made the secunde daye of November In the yeere of our Lorde god from the Incarnation of Crist 1582 And in the xxiiiith yeere of the Raigne of our Soveraingne [*sic*] Lady Elizabethe by the grace of god Queene of England Fraunce and Ireland Defender of the fayethe &c: Betwene the right worshipfull Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight of the one party, And the merchant Adventurers with the sayde Sir Humfry gilbert and the societie And company of them whose names surnames and some adventured be Inscribed particulerly in the cedull unto these presentes annexed of thother party, And of eyther the same parties to be fulfilled and performed in manner and forme heer ensuinge viz:

*Copia
concordat
cum
originale.*

1 First That all the saied merchant Adventurers with the sayed Sir Humfry Gilbert and all and every theire Children heyres and posterity for ever shalbe wholie free of and in bloode and also they and every of them, And theire apprenteces servinge seaven yeeres shalbe wholly free of and in all and all manner trade and trades of entercourse buinge sellinge occupyng and merchandizinge, Whatsoever in all and every those contries Territories and dominions whatsoever and whersoever with the sayde sir Humfrey Gilbert or his heires his successors

¹ John Dee, 'Diary,' Bodleian, Ashmole MS. 487. Printed by Halliwell, p. 17.

² State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, SP 12/155, 86.

or Assignes or the Heyres successors or Assignes of any of them at any tyme hereafter by vertue and authority of her Majestes Lettres patentes bearing date at Westmonaster the Eleventh of June in the xxth yeere of her Majesties raingne &c. or by Conquest relinquishment of composicion or otherwise whatsoever. And that ye same societie and company of Marchant Adventurers aforesaide shall beare the name and also sue and be sued by ye name of the Merchant adventurers with Sir Humfry gilbert untill suche tyme as it shall please God that ye Quenes Majestie or Sir Humfry gilbert their heyres or successors or The heyres or Successors of eyther of them shall geve the Contries and company of Marchant adventurers aforesayd some other name or names therby to be incorporated and to Sue and be sued as is aforesaide Provided neverthelese y^t all the sayde merchant Adventurers, and every of them their children heyres and theyre posterity afforesaide shall well and truely from time to time content and paie or cause to be contentid and payde unto the sayde Sir Humfry gilbert his heyres Successors or Assignes but onely the half custome, And their Aprentices afforesayde the whole custome and customes ther due and to be due for all and singuler their goodes and Marchandizes hereafter brought thether or at any time after this first voiage Laden or brought from thence all fishes and fishinge there or theraboutes excepted And unto them and every of them wholly freed and freely discharged for ever without any custome toll or Imposicion or demand therfore whatsoever.

2 Item That the sayde Sir Humfry gilbert his heyres Successors and assignes and the heyres Successors and assignes and every of them and their assignes shall from tyme to tyme and for ever ordaine make keep and establishe onely in the Towne of Southhampton within the sayde kingdome of England and no wher els within the sayde kingdome a perpetuall staple receipt and repository for all and all manner their goodes wares and merchandizes whatsoever at any tyme heereafter in the sayed countries territories or dominions Aforesaid or the precinctes therof or of any of them In anie manner of shipp boat Creyer or other vessell or vessels whatsoever in the trade of marchandis or marchandizinge for and unto ye Realme of Englande afforesaid

laden or caused to be laden. And also that all and every other person and persons whatsoever that shall hereafter by waye of merchandizinge lade or cawse to be laden within ye sayde cuntries, Territories or dominions or the precinctes therof or anie of them for and into the realme of Englande aforesaide any manner of fishes goodes Bullian wares or marchandizes whatsoever shall bring or cawse to be brought the same and everie part therof unto the porte of the Towne of Southampton afforesaide and ther onely and no where else within the kingdome of England, shall discharge and laie on lande the same, Except yt by the governer Officers and ye Assistantes of the sayde societie of the most parte of them in open courte it shalbe otherwyse ordered and disposed and shall not transport or carry from thence any of ye sayde Fishes goodes bullian wares or marchandizes without the speciall licence of ye Governor Tresorer Agent, and Secretarie Assistantes and ye Society afforesayde for ye tyme beinge or ye moste parte of them.

3 Item That ye saied Sir Humfry gilbert shall nowe before his present departure owt of England Nominate elect and place owt of the sayde Society and company of the sayed merchant Adventurers resiant within ye towne of Southampton or the precinctes therof fower Principall officers y^t is to saye a Governor, Tresurer, Agent, and a Secretary to continewe in the sayde offices accordinge to his Election will and pleasures eyther untill they and every of them dyeth or resigneth or be by the same society and company or ye most part thereof fownde and lawfullie proved insufficient or defective And then after ye Death or resignation of any of the same officers or after any insufficiency so by them fownd and proved the sayde Sir Humfry gilbert yf he be then within ye Realme of England shall in his and their steedes and places so deade resigninge or fownde insufficient or Defective nominate elect and place owt of the sayde Societie and company so many others to supply his and theyre roome and roomes and in ye same office & offices to continewe and indure accordinge to his owne good will and pleasure. But yf it happen the sayde Sir Humfry gilbert then to be absent owt of the Realme of England aforesayde at ye tyme of anie suche deathe resignacion or insufficiencie or defecte

proved as aforesayde, That then and in those cases it shalbe at all tymes lawfull to ye rest of ye said officers not Dying or resigning nor fownde insufficient or defective and to theyre Assistantes Society and company aforesayde or to ye most part of them utterly to remove and displace all and every suche officer and officers afforesayde and in his and in every of their places so Dying resigning or removed to nominate elect and chuse three others of ye most wyse and gravest men of the same Society and company ther dwelling in Southampton aforesayde in their writinge testefying and declaring ye cause and causes therof to presente unto the Honorable Sir Fraunces Walsingham Knight one of her Majestes Privie counsaill and Highe Secretarie, as unto theyr in this respect under her Majestie and ye sayde Sir Humfry gilbert in his absence by him appointed cheif and principall Patron and gouvernor, The names and Surnames of all and every ye sayd three other men so at any tyme or tymes hereafter In all and every suche presentment and presentmentes aforesayde it shalbe Lawfull unto ye sayde Sir Fraunces Walsingham at his onely will and good pleasure so y^t he doe it within the space of xx^{ty} Dayes then next ensuing to prick one of them so nominated and presented And by prickinge to ratefy and confirme ye same man to be ye lawfull officer for y^t tyme in the steed and place of thother late officer so deade resigning or removed as aforesayde.

And The same person and persons so by him pricked ratefied and confirmed, untill his or theyre naturell Death resignacion or remocion shall keep have and enjoie all ye place proffites and preheminences incident therunto whollie and in as ample manner and forme as his predecessors in y^t office or anie of them before y^t tyme ever kept had and enjoyed, But yf it shall happen ye sayed Sir Fraunces Walsingham upon the said presentmentes of ye thre other names and surnames aforesayde at anie tyme not to prick ratefye and confirme one of them as aforesayde within ye space of xx^{tie} Dayes as aforesayed, That then and for y^t tyme it shalbe lawfull for ye rest of thofficers Assistance, Society and company aforesayde or to ye most part of them to all intentes constructions and purposes to name place and confirme in ye cases aforesayde and to theeffect aforesayde

all and every suche officer and officers aforesayde as they or the most of them shall best lyke and agree upon for y^t tyme Provided alwaies that all and every of the saied Officer officers shall once in every yeere that is to saye within vii Dayes next Ensuing ye feast of all Sainctes yearly make and yeelde up in their sufficient writtinge unto the rest of the officers Assistantes and Society aforesayd or to ye most parte of them for the tyme being within theyre place of common Assemblies their severall True just and lawfull Accomptes and reckonings of all and singuller suche receiptes and paymentes whatsoever by them or anie of them or their assignes at anie tyme in the yeere before y^t tyme to ye use and behoof of the sayed society and company of merchant Adventurers aforesayd their successors or Assignes or anie of them received had and imbursed

4 Item that the sayde Gouvernor and other the officers and society and company aforesayde dwellinge in Southampton and elswher within ye Realme of England that conveniently may come theither shall in and upon ye first daye of August next ensuinge ye date heereof or before yf they or the most parte of them shall thincke it necessary and convenient shall in some open and comodious place by the same officers apointed in good manner meet and assemble them selves toghether about Eyght of the clock in the Moringe and after some devine Service or sermon had and heard shall freely nominate elect and chuse and place owt of ye sayed company and society aforesayde Eyght of the most wysest and Discreatest persons for one wholle yeer then next followinge to be Assistantes And to theyre uttermost power dilligently to assist ye same officers and society and company aforesayde And also shall then and there in open court for ye better gouvernement and commodyty of the whole society and company aforesayde according unto theyre wisdomes and good discretions Effectuellie make ordaine and establishe for them and every of them and theyre Successors all and all man[er] good necessary and convenient orders Decrees and statutes And y^t ye wholle Society and company aforesayde and everie of them and theyre successors and assignes shalbe unto ye same orders decrees and statutes and to every of them In all respectes obedient and the same and every of them shall

fulfill and performe upon suche payn and paines as ye sayde Gouverner, Treasurer Agent secretarie Assistantes and ye Society and company aforesayde or the most parte of them for ye tyme beinge shall in ye same orders decrees and statutes and every of them speciefie and set downe in due order and true meaning of the same to be inflicted and imposed upon all and every offender and offenders doing to ye contrary. And also y^t to ye same good effectes and purposes ye sayed officers Assistances and The whole Society and company aforesayde and every of them yf they maie Conveniently shall in like sorte at ye tyme and place aforesaid upon ye firste Daye of Marche then next followinge meet together and keep their generall lyke Court or Assembly or Assembly [*sic*] And so forth also after y^t tyme the sayde officers all and singuler and ye society and companie aforesayde In like manner and to ye good intentes and purposes aforesayde In and upon every of the sayed two first Dayes of August and March aforesayd at the place and tyme aforesayde yeerely and in every yeere for ever shall duetefullie meet together and keepe their generall Sessions and solempne Assemblies and courtes as aforesaide, Provided neverthles that it shalbe Lawfull unto ye saide officers and Assistances aforesaide and ye most part of them wherof the Governer or Tresorer to be alwaies one at their pleasers to Assemble themselves together wher otherwise and as often as they or ye most part of them wherof the sayed Governor or Tresuror alwaies to be one shall for ye direction of newe or newly emergent causes or busines think it meet and convenient. Provided farder y^t yf it happen in those meane and speciall meetinges and assemblies or any of them any person or persones to be wronged or hardly dealt with all every party so greved maie lawfully apeale from ye saied officers and the speciall assemblies aforesaide unto ye next court and generall Sessions to be holden and kept, And ther upon due excamination and tryall of the cause to receive a fynall order and determinacion therin from ye saied officers Assistance and the whole Society and company aforesaid or the most part therof Provided Also farder y^t every of the sayde generall courtes Sessions and Assemblies aforesayd at ye Dayes tymes and places afforesaid

yerely and in every yeere for ever to be kept holden and solempnized in manner and forme aforesayde shall yf need require be holden and continewe by the space of Eyght daies or els longer or shorter as unto ye saide officers and society aforesayd or to the most part of them ther shalbe thought most meet and convenient And yf it happen any of the saied two first Dayes of Agust or Marche aforesayde to fall upon the Sondaie or dominicall daye that then and in all those cases the sayed generall Courtes and assemblies and every of them to be kept holden and celebrated the secunde daye of those Moneths and of every of them in manner and forme aforesayde

5. Item That it shalbe lawfull unto the sayed gouvernor officers Assistances Society and companie aforesaide and and [sic] the the most part of and their successors from tyme to tyme and as they or the most part of them shall thinck it meet and convenient onely in the generall courtes and assemblies aforesayde upon suche fyne and fynes as shalbe by them or the most part of them for the tyme being Seased taxed and agreed upon to admitte and receive into the saied Society and company suche and as many redemptionary and redemptionaries as they or the most part of them shall well like of Provided Alwaies that as every some of five powndes in monny or comodities nowe first adventured is called ment and intended to be a single adventure so it shall not be Lawfull unto the sayde society and company at anie tyme to admit anie redemptionary to purchase and have for his fyne any more or above fower single adventures after the rate of the fyve powndes aforesayde as the same shall rise and fall And the fyne and fynes of the saide redemptionaries for the space of fifty yeeres now next ensuing shall lawfully imploie and convert to theyre owne uses and comodities and to the comodity of theyre heyres and assignes Rate for rate and according to the vallew of their particuler somme and somes adventured and in ye cedula indented specefied and contained Saving allwaies and reserved unto ye sayde Sir Humfry gilbert his heyres sucessors and Assignes and to every of them the fifte parte of every suche fyne and fynes to the onely use of the saide Sir Humfry gilbert his heyres successors and Assignes by the sayd governor Assistance society and companie aforesayd for the

tyme being to be well and truely contented and payed Provided alwaies that all and every the sayd redemptionary and redemptionaries theyr children and Apprentices serving seaven yeeres and theyre posterity and every of them shall from tyme to tyme well and truely paye or cause to be payed unto ye sayd Sir Humfry Gilbert his heyres and assignes the whole custome and customes there in those contries territories and Dominions aforesayd at anie tyme due or to be due for all And every their goodes wares and Marchandizes brought thether or laden from thence Fishes and fishing onely excepted and forepryzed, And y^t neyther they the saide redemptionaryes nor any of them nor their children nor heyres nor apprenteces nor posterity aforesaide shalbe by reasone of anie their adventures eyther in person or in goodes priveledged to have within any of the saide contries, Territories or Dominions anie manner of Land or inheritance of lande or suche other prerogatives as the Merchant adventurers specified and contained in the cedull indented or infreed of and in consideracion of their first adventures ought to have.

6 Item That every man adventuring in this first voiadg whose knowen name and surname and some adventured shalbe sett downe in the sayd indented cedull of the Adventurers heerunto annexed and signed with the hand and seale of the said Sir Humfry gilbert by ye Assignement and allowance of the saide Sir Humfry Gilbert his heyres his successors or Assignes shall have to him and to his heires for ever in those countries Territories or Dominions or some one of them so by him the sayde Sir Humfry Gilbert his heyres Successors or Assignes or any of them at any tyme after The Date hereof discovered conquered or any wayes possessed, for every fyve powndes in mony or comodities Adventured one thousand acres of grownd over and above the retourne of his Adventure as the same shall fall owt to gayne or losses and so forth proportionably according to the rate of every severall adventure aforesaide.

7 Item that every adventurer in person and not in goodes in this first voiadg and theyre heyres shalbe for ever free of and in all trades and traffickes of and in all those contries territoris

And Dominions and every of them paying unto the sayde Sir Humfry gilbert his heyres sucessors and assignes the half custome and customes of and for theyre wares goodes And merchandizes, fishe and fishing onely Excepted as aforesaide brought frome hence thether or from thence hither unto England aforesayde and that it shalbe lawfull hereafter for those that have not nowe adventured in goodes putting in theyre mony for their adventures onely into the banke for every officer and gentelman in respect of the Adventure of his person to be admitted an adventurer of a Doble adventure and for every privat person of a single adventure, yf they so will doe.

8. Item That every man that shall nowe in this first voiage adventure in stock and also goe in person shall have a Doble proporcion of land ther in those countries territories or Dominions aforesayd aswell for his person as also for his Adventure in goodes that anie other hathe that shall venture onely in goodes and not in person.

And that every Gentelman In this sort Adventuring yf at any tyme he will put so much mony into the comon bancke or purse after the rate of a single adventure aforesayde maye have and shalbe admited unto four single Adventures and every pryvat mann unto two single Adventures, Doing and paying in his mony therefore ratably as aforesayde.

9. Item That every man that shall in this first voiadge tarry with the saide Sir Humfry gilbert in the sayde countries territories or Dominions or any part therof nowe intended to be discovered conquered seased or possessed therwith him to remaine by the space of Eyght Monethes next after his first arryvall ther as a possession taker and holder to the onely use and behoof of the sayed Sir Humfry gilbert his heyres and assignes shall have double the proporcion in and of Lande ther as well for his person as also for his other adventure over and above all those proporcions and Acres of Landes which he shall have y^t goeth thether in person and remainethe not ther so long tyme with the sayed Sir Humfry gilbert but retourneth from thence againe before thende of the sayde space of Eyght monethes aforsaid Except allwaies suche person and persons as it shall please the sayd Sir Humfry gilbert to use and employe

in message or otherwyse in this next retourne from thence into England which person and persons so used and Imploied shall have the same proporcion of Land ther as others as is aforesaide remaininge ther so long tyme shall have.

10. Item That every person and persons so adventuring in this first voiadge in person or in goodes or in both person and goodes shall hold all and singuler their sayd proporcion and numbers of Acres of Land aforesaide to him and to them and to his and to their heyres for ever in free Soccage tenure onely and not in Capite of and from the saide Sir Humfry gilbert his heyres Assignes and Successors for ever yielding and paying therfore yeerly unto the sayde Sir Humfry Gilbert his heyres Assignes and successors After the ende of the first Seaven yeeres Exspired that the same number of Acres shalbe by him or them be possessed and Manured in Signe of a Chyvage or quitt rent for every thousand Acres ten shillings and so ratablye and yeerely for ever.

11. Item That in farther reward and for perpetuall Memory of all those which now in this voiage dothe adventure thither with the saide Sir Humfry gilbert eyther in person or in goodes or in bothe as is before specefied and their heyres children and successors shalbe for ever free and freely Discharged from all tortures Marshall lawes and from all arrestes and atachmentes of all and singuler their bodies and goodes whatsoever for all and every accion and accions personalls Realls and mixt, both in those cuntryes territories and Dominions and in every of them and every of theyr precinctes, and also at all tymes in all and singuler their passag and passages both by water and Land thither and from thence heyther notwithstanding any power and auctority or preheminance whatsoever heretofore geven and granted or hereafter to be geven and granted to the Sayde Sir Humfry gilbert his heyres successors and assignes or the heyres successors or assignes of any of them by ye sayde Lettres patentes from our soveraigne Lady Elizabeth Quene of England aforesayd or anie otherwyse.

12. Item that all and every of the kindred in bloude and consanguinity of the sayd Sir Humfry gilbert and his wyf and of everie of them shalbe in all those contries territories and

Dominions and every of them for ever free and enjoye all and every the aforesaide liberties freedoms immunities and privileges and every of them without any fyne or fines whatsoever in as ample and as large manner as any of the saide Society and company by anie waies or meanes hath or maie or ought to have and enjoie, Anie thing or thinges in those articles or anie of them specified or contayned to ye contrary in any wyse notwithstanding. Provided Alwaies and it is straightly charged and comanded And expresly inhibited and forbid unto the sayde Society and company aforesaide and every of them by the saide Sir Humfry gilbert that none of the nowe Marchantes of the Moscovy company nor none of their children or issues nor none of the nowe inhabitantes of the Towne of Southampton or within the freedome therof nor none of their children or issues of Anie of them which neyther adventured with the sayde Sir Humfry gilbert in his first pretence of Discovery nor nowe in this last voiage shall at any time heere after be capable of the freedoms or of anie part of the liberties imunities or privileges aforesayde by redemption grant gifte consent or by anie other waies or meanes whatsoever, And in consideracion therof the saide Sir Humfry gilbert his heyres Successors and assignes covenanteth and granteth to and with the saide Society and companie by those presentes that he the saide Sir Humfry gilbert his heires successors and assignes or some of them shall at all times hereafter confiscate and sease uppon as forfeited all and all manner their fishes wares and marchandizes there in those countries Territories or Dominions or anie of their precinctes aforesaid at anie time heereafter fownd or Laden there or from thence and also all and all manner the fishes goodes and wares and marchandizes of all other person or persons whatsoever not being free of this Society and companie inhabiting within this Realme of England or the Isles of Guernsey or Jersey or the Isles lying therabouts ther in those countries territories or Dominions or within the precinctes of anie of them at anie time fownd and taken shalbe confiscated and forfeited the one half to himself his heyres Successors and assignes and thother half unto the saide society and companie of the nowe marchant Adventurers with the sayed Sir Humfry

gilbert By him the sayd Sir Humfry gilbert his heyres Successors and assignes well and truely to be contented and paied And in Lyke sort all and all manner Seasure And seasures forfect and forfeitures of anie and all manner of goodes wares and merchandizes of any and of every the person and persons aforesaide so as aforesaide restrained Inhibited and not free of the saide society and company made taken or donne by ye saied company thier successors and Assignes within the porte or Towne of South Hampton or within anie porte or place of the Realme of Englande shalbe in Lyke sort made and taken to ye onely use and profit of the saide Sir Humfry gilbert his heires successors and assignes, And alsoe to the use and behoof of the saide societie and company aforesaide their successors and assignes by Equall half porcions to be devided That is to saie the one half therof to ye saide Sir Humfry gilbert his heyres Successors and Assignes, And thother half to ye saide society and company Their successors and Assignes for ever.

13. Item that all those which shall apeere to be certefied unto the officers and Society aforesayd under the hande and seale of the sayde Sir Humfry gilbert to have ben adventurers in the Last pretence of discovery with him and also al those which continewed with him in the voiage untill the breaking up therof at Kinsaell in Ireland in those Countries territories and Dominions and every of them shalbe as free to all intentes and purposes as the nowe Adventurers ar or ought to be in any manner and respect aforesaide.

14. Item That the saide Sir Humfry gilbert of his special and meere mocion towards the comfort and relief of the poore travelers and decaied persons of the society aforesaid And other good uses to be bestowed and imployed within the saide towne of South Hampton aforesayd geveth and granteth unto the saide Society and company of the marchant adventurers aforesaide and to their successors and assignes for ever tenne Thowsande Acres of Lande to be holden of him his heyres Successors and assignes unto ye saide Society and company aforesayde And unto their successors and assignes for ever in those contries Territories and Dominions aforesayde or some of them In Socage tenure aforesayd and also one pownde owt

of every his hundreth pownds that shall hereafter ryse and come unto him owt of and upon his fift part of the fynes of the Redemptionaries aforesayde during the terme of the fifty yeeres aforesayde And the saide Society and company also and their successors in like sort and to those goode workes and intentes shall and will yeerly geve graunt and distribute in monny one pound of everie hundreth powndes that by godes providence and their goode industry shall heere after happen to be gotten and gained or growen unto the same society and company aforesaide, owt of and by all the yeerely gaines and profittes of all the whole company aforesaide for ever by reason of their trade and traffick theyther and from thence as aforesaide.

15. Item That he the saide Sir Humfry gilbert his heyres and successors after his first Arrivall in the saide countries Territories or Dominions or anie of them and as soone as he or they can doe the same to good effect in Lawe shall effectually ratefie confirme and assure to all intentes and purposes unto all and every the saide Adventurers their heyres children posterity and others aforesayd in manner and forme aforesaide all and every the saide Landes Liberties freedoms immunities and commodities and every other thing and thinges requisitt and incident therunto and to every part therof in suche manner and sort as by and from her Majestie her heyres and successors for the further confirmacion And strenghtning of the premisses and every part therof unto the said Governor officers Assistantes society and company afforesaid and unto every of th[em their] heyres [children] successors and others aforesayd in anie respect shalbe at anie tyme heerafter needful or necessary And that all and every the grauntes Articles clauses and sentences concerning eyther the said Sir Humfry Gilbert his heirs or successors or any of the saide Society or company of Marchant Adventurers or any other person or persons aforesaide shalbe at all times construed interpreted and understoode according to the most true plaine And usuall sence and construction in all thinges and no otherwyse And that yf ther shall happen any difference betwene the sayde Sir Humfry gilbert his heires and assignes and the saide society and company or any of them their heires children or posterity or any other aforesayde abowt any

ambiguous construccion of any Article or articles clause or sentence whatsoever heerin contained the exposition and finall determinacion of all and every suche controversies and differences shall rest and abide in the handes Judgment and finall determinacion of the Lorde Chauncellor of England for the tyme beinge In witnes wherof unto the one part of the sayde Articles Indented Remayning with the saide society and company aforesayde the saide Sir Humfry gilbert hathe putt his hande and seale and to the other part remaining with the saide Sir Humfry Gilbert the saide society and company aforesayd have cawsed the seale of the Office of the Maioralty of the Towne of Southampton aforesayde to be sett unto Yeven the Daye and yeere first above written.

Endorsed.—Articles of agreement indented between Sir Humfry Gilbert and such of Hampton as adventure with him: as also between him and all other Adventurers with him.

100. [12 DECEMBER 1582]. ADDITIONAL ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT AND THE ADVENTURERS, WITH HIS INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE VOYAGE¹.

Addicons to the Articles

*Copia
concordat*

And further that all and every person and persons that shall heerafter intend to goe into the remote Countries Territories or Dominions aforesaid or anie of them shall first enter into bande unto ye Governer, Tresorer, Agent and Secretary assistances And the Society aforesaide² by the discrecion of the said Governor, Tresorer Agent Secretary Assistantes and the Society aforesaid or the most of them to runne and goe suche course (as neere as he or they maye) as shalbe sett downe by the dirreccion of the said governer Tresorer Agent Secretary Assistances and Society aforesaid or the most part of them, And that they nor anie of them so entring into bande as aforesaid shall attempt or doe anie thing directly or indirectly that shalbe contrary to theeffect And true meaning of her Majesties Comision graunted to the said Sir Humfry gilbert And also upon

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/156, 13.

² 'or the most of them' crossed out.

their arrivall there in those Countries Territories or dominions they and everie of them to doe everie thing and thinges to the use of the said Sir Humfry his heyres and Successors In suche manner and forme as the nowe Adventerers in person with the said Sir Humfry gilbert doth or ought to doe According to the tennor and forme of the Articles aforesaid and none otherwise.

And further that the said Governor, Tresorer, Agent Secretaire Assistances and Society shall have full power and lawfull auctoritie to Admitte into this forsaidd accion for Discoverie anie person and persons that upon the condicions aforesaid or suche other condicions as the said Governor Tresorer Agent Secretary Assistances and Society aforesaid or the most part of them by the consent of the aforesaid Sir Fraunces Walsingham knight shalbe thought meet, so that everie suche person so to be admitted do imbarke himself and depart from the coast of England to the intentes aforesaid before the ende of Aprill next, And that all suche persons so Auctorised by the governor tresorer Agent secretary Assistances and Society or the most part of them Inrold in the recordes of Suthampton So that he depart before the last of Aprill as aforesaid shall have and injoye the like priviledges liberties and fredomes as the nowe adventureres in person with the said Sir Humfry hath or ought to have by vertue of these present Articles.

Provided Alwaies and nevertheless it is concluded condiscended and agreed that yf anie person as is aforesaid Auctorised shall at anie tyme or tymes heereafter willingly wittingly and maliciously pretend do or goe about to doe or willinglie suffer to be doon anie manner of act thing or thinges whatsoever tending to the distruccon or subvercion of the said Sir Humfry his heyres Successors or cheef Assignes or principall governor or doe comitte piracy or open hostility against anie Cristian prince or people wherby the lettres pattentes of the said Sir Humfry shall or maye be made voide or frustrat contrary to the true meaning purpoce and effect of the said lettres pattentes graunted to the said Sir Humfry, or yf he or they do publicquely notoriously and maliciously mainteyn anie suche person or persons as shall publicquely or openly goe about to distroye or overthrowe the right tittle or person of the said Sir Humfry his

heyres Successors or cheef and principall Assigne in principall government, or the subvercion of the common Wealth of the said Sir Humfry his heyres or Successors, their Countries or Territories That then And from thenceforth thes present Addicions and the Covenantes aforsaid to become voide and of none effect to all intentes and purposes as yf the same Addicions hadd never ben had nor made anie thing heerin contained to the contrary heerof In anie waye notwithstandinge.

And by these presentes I the said Sir Humfry gilbert for me my heires successors and Assignes do geve full power and Aucturity unto the said governor, Tresorer Agent Secretary Assistances Society and Company to arme and sett out from time to tyme as my Assignes anie and as many shipp and shippes to discover Searche and find out all and every suche remote heathen miscreant and barberous landes Countries and Territories whatsoever not nowe actuallie possessed by anie Cristian Prince or people as to them it shalbe thought meet and convenient in anie part of the Worlde whatsoever, by and under the Aucturity of her Majestes graunt made to me the said Sir Humfry gilbert, All which Countries Territories or dominions the said Governor, Tresorer Agent Secretary and Company aforsaid shal conquer have holde occupy and injoye Inhabitt and governe by and under me the Said Sir Humfry gilbert my Successors and Assignes In suche manner and forme as the Acres of land in the Articles afore mentioned or occupied and Injoyed And to Injoye as large liberties priveledges and freedoms In all and every the said Countries And Territories as aforsaid as they maie do or ought to doe by vertue of anie graunt liberties or freedoms heertofore geven or graunted to them by me the said Sir Humfry gilbert, so that they neither willingly do nor cause to be done anie thing or thinges contrarie to the true meaning of the Queenes Majestes graunt to me the saide Sir Humfry graunted, anie thing or Thinges heertofore graunted or heerafter to be graunted to the contrary In any wise notwithstandinge.

Memorandum that these Addicions to the Articles and all rasures And Interlininges of these presentes weere don with the good liking And consent of the said Sir Humfry gilbert and

company before the delivery of thes present bookes in the presence of thes persons whose names ar heer under written.

These¹ Highe and Honorable personadges heer under-written And their heires for ever by the free gift and full consent and asent of the said Sir Humfry gilbert knight and the Society and Companie of the nowe Marchant Adventerers aforesaid, after their severall adventures heerin entred ratably as is in these Articles expressed shall have lawfull freedome and free trade or traffike of marchandize and marchandizing in all and singuler the Countries territories And Dominions within written nowe intended to be discovered in as ample manner and forme as the said nowe Marchant Adventurers by vertue heerof hathe or ought to have in the same trade or trafficques viz.

Sir Thomas bromley knight Lord Chancellor of England.

William Lord burgley highe tresorer of England.

Lord Earle of Sussex highe chamberlain of England.

Lord Erle of Warwick.

Robert Lord erle of Leicester.

Sir Cristopher Hatton knight vice chamberlain to her majestes

Sir Fraunces knowles knight

Sir James acroft knight

Sir Walter milemaye knight

Sir Henry Sidney knight

And Also dyvers other knightes Esquiers And gentlemen viz.

Phillip Sidney Esqr.

Sir george peake knight.

Sir henry knevett knight.

Thomas knevett Esqr.

William Archer Esqr.

William Archer Jun. his sonne gent.

John Dee gent.

Anthony Packhurst Esqr.

¹ From here to the end of the document is in two columns.

James parkinson esqr.
 Richard bingham esqr.
 John Mawle gent.
 Androwe mallery esqr.
 Lawrance tompson gent.
 Edward cordell esqr.
 William parry Esqr.

The names and Surnames of suche persons with their severall
 Somes of monny and comodities Adventured with the said Sir
 Humfry gilbert In this present voiadge of discovery heere
 insueth viz.

| | | |
|--|---|---------|
| Sir Fraunces Walsingham knight | — | 1 li. |
| William barwick Maior of Southampton | — | x li. |
| Mr. Edward cotton of Suthampton esqr. | — | 1 li. |
| Nicolas Caplin of Suthampton marchant ¹ | — | xx li. |
| Robert knaplock of the towne of Hampton | — | xx li. |
| William knaplock of Clementes Inn gent | — | xxx li. |
| Richard goddard of Suthampton Marchant | — | xl li. |
| John knight of Suthampton Ironmunger | — | x li. |
| Robert Moore of Suthampton Marchant | — | xx li. |
| John Errnighon of Suthampton marchant | — | x li. |
| John smith of the Towne of Hampton gent | — | xx li. |
| Thomas homes of Suthampton esqr. | — | 1 li. |
| Fraunces mills of Suthampton gent | — | x li. |
| Edmund Stafford of Suthampton gent | — | x li. |
| John Eyles of Suthampton Mercer | — | v li. |
| Barnard Courtnill of Suthampton Marchant | — | x li. |
| John hopton of Suthampton draper | — | v li. |
| Androwe studley of Suthampton Mercer | — | xv li. |
| Richard Waterton of Suthampton gent | — | x li. |
| Edmund capelin of Suthampton gent | — | x li. |
| Thomas Demaresk of Suthampton marchant | — | v li. |
| Robert russell of Suthampton beerbruer | — | v li. |
| Henry moore of the Towne of Hampton gent | — | v li. |
| William grose of Suthampton Mercer | — | v li. |
| Thomas Courtnill of Suthampton baker | — | v li. |

¹ 'Ironmunger', crossed out.

| | | |
|---|---|--------|
| Thomas haward of Suthampton draper | — | v li. |
| John Sedgwick of Suthampton marchant | — | xx li. |
| Paule elliot of Suthampton mercer | — | v li. |
| Laurance grosse of Suthampton mercer | — | v li. |
| Thomas griston of Southampton shipmaster | — | v li. |
| John greni of Suthampton Yeoman | — | v li. |
| Hughe Dervall the yonger of Suthampton mercier | — | v li. |
| Mr. Cristopher kenn Esqr. | — | x li. |
| William Eling of the Towne of Suthampton | — | v li. |
| Sampson thomas of Suthampton beerbruer | — | v li. |
| Sir William Winter knight | — | |
| William Winter gent | — | |
| Helleni Edmondes of Suthampton widowe | — | v li. |
| Harry Edmundes of Suthampton Yoman | — | v li. |
| Thomas clark thelder of burton in Dorset gent | — | v li. |
| Nicolas Roche of Suthampton Marchant | — | v li. |
| Robert mawle of chalock in kent gent | — | xx li. |
| John Elsey of Suthampton Marchant | — | v li. |
| John Deslile of Suthampton Marchant | — | v li. |
| John Smith of Suthampton taylor | — | v li. |
| Robert studley of Suthampton baker | — | v li. |

[space left blank]

These heer underwritten ar free alsoo of the said traffique and trade of marchandize by the gift and consent aforsaide According to the proporcion of a single Adventure. but not to injoye the Division of anie gains untill hereafter they shall putt in their stokes According unto thes Articles.

Henry hopkins of Suthampton Clerk.
 John Calvert of Suthampton Clerk.
 Emery Lakes of Suthampton marchant.
 Thomas Dickenson of Suthampton Yoman.
 John Riges of Suthampton Yoman.
 Robert kenninges of Suthampton Yoman.
 Richard Jackson of Suthampton Yoman.
 Richard mudford of Suthampton Yoman.

Georg Dalton of Suthampton Yoman.
 Augusteni Reynolds of Southampton.
 John favor of Suthampton Clerk marchant.
 Dionis Brett of Sale in the Conty of Norfolk.

These Also whose names ar here Written which Adventured
 with Sir Humfry gilbert in his First voiage in monny or com-
 dities not Inhabiting within the Towne of Suthampton aforesaid
 shall in like sorte be free of trade And traffick as aforesaid.

The Lord Northe
 Mr. Edmondes of the privie chamber.
 Sir Mathew Arrundell.
 Sir Edward horsey.
 Sir William morgan
 Sir John gilbert.
 Sir george peckham.
 Charles arrundell esqr.
 Mr. mackwilliam esqr.
 Mr. Walter rawley esqr.¹
 Mr. Carrowe rawley esqr.²
 Mr. Cotton esqr.
 Mr. Edward
 Henry Nowell esqr.³
 Mr. Wigmore esqr.⁴
 John Dudley esqr.
 William moham esqr.
 Edward bartley esqr.
 Thomas smith Customer of London.
 Edmund eltoft esqr.⁵
 georg Carrowe of okington esqr.
 Mr. rudgwaye esqr.
 Mr. Laurance radford esqr.
 Adrian gilbert esqr.
 Charles Champernowne esqr.⁶

¹ Captain of the *Falcon*. Document no. 46, p. 211 above.

² Captain of the *Hope of Greenway*. *Ibid*.

³ 'an Ancient by lande' in the *Hope of Greenway*. *Ibid*.

⁴ Passenger in the *Anne Aucher*. *Ibid*.

⁵ Passenger in the *Falcon*, p. 212 above. ⁶ Passenger in the *Falcon*. *Ibid*.

Robert Wraye gent.¹
 Thomas Hamond gent.²
 Mr. Whetst' [Whetstone] gent.³
 Edward snelling gent.
 Mr. Haies gent. of Leerpolle
 John Upton esqr.
 Mr. William hawkins gent.
 Mr. James hilston gent.⁴
 Barnard smith marchant
 John Periam Marchant
 William weymouth Marchant
 William martin Marchant
 Lawrance barckham marchant
 John rodford
 Simon bowiar esqr.
 georg maydo gent.
 John amerrideth gent.⁵
 John robertes gent.⁶
 Mr. Warckhope esqr.

Allso all those persons whose names ar heer under written that in person Adventured with the sayde Sir Humfry gilbert knight in his first voiage About this discovery within written and continewed with him untill the breaking up therof At kinsaell in Ireland After their severall Adventures heerin entrend ratably as aforesaid shall have freedom in the trade and traffick of Marchandizes as is aforesaide.

[space left blank]

Allso all and singuler other the Adventurers with The said Sir Humfry gilbert of the Townes of Tottnes and Darkmouth and all others adventuring with the said Sir Humfry gilbert under the name of Sir John gilbert knight thelder brother of the said Sir Humfry gilbert and Also all others Adventuring to theeffectes aforesaid under the name barnard Drake esquire or

¹ Passenger in the *Hope of Greenway*, p. 211 above.

² Passenger in the *Anne Aucher. Ibid.*

³ Passenger in the *Hope of Greenway. Ibid.*

⁴ Passenger in the *Hope of Greenway. Ibid.*

⁵ Passenger in the *Red Lion*, p. 212 above.

⁶ Passenger in the *Falcon. Ibid.*

Anthony brigham gent, After the certificat In writting under the handes and seales of the said Sir Jo: gilbert, Sir Humfry gilbert Sir georg peckhame or of anie of them of the true severall adventures of every suche adventurer made and delivered unto the Governor Tresorer Agent Secretary Assistantes And Society aforsaid shall in the next generall Court or Assembly then after the delivery of every of the said certificates to be holden within the Towne of Suthampton aforsaid In like sort be heerin entrd and also be free of traffick in the places aforsaid In suche manner As the nowe adven terers with Sir Humfry gilbert by vertu of these Articles be or ought to be And no otherwise, And so that the said certificates be made and delivered within the space of three Yeeres next ensuing the Date of these Articles.

[space left blank]

The names and surnames of all suche as nowe in this present discovery adventureth in person with the said Sir Humfry gilbert.

[space left blank]

The names and surnames of the four principall Officers of the said Society, that is to saie of the Governor, tresurer, Agent And Secretary, named elected and chosen by the said Sir Humfry gilbert before his nowe departure out of Englande as heer followethe viz—

[space left blank]

Instructions Left by Sir Humfry gilbert unchangably to be observed.

1. The Yellowe wax is to be broken at the Landes ende of Englande and not before for that it is for their Course onely—
2. The redde wax is not to be broken up before they come upon the Coast of America or within a hundreth Leagues therof—
3. The parties to whom the same ar delivered ar to give their faithes not to do anie thing contrary to this Direction—

Ther ar xii of the same bales for direccion delivered upon the Delivery of the Articles of our Aggreement and one littell rolle

with a labell wraped up in redd wax and Sealed as the other this xiith of December 1582

Also I woulde have these writes the lettres pattendes the graunt to the Towne and the Sea Carde and all other thinges touching this matter putt into an Iron chest with Three lockes And not to forgett to speak with Iron Simcottes marchant of London at his retorne from Barbery for this graunt for I hadd conference with him about the same before his departure.—

And those three keyes aforsayd to be kept the one by the Maior of Suthampton th'other by Richard goddard And the thirde by robart Moore. Untill the officers be knowen¹—

H: G:

*Endorsed*²:—Additions to the former articles between Sir Humfrey Gilbert and the adventurers with him.

101. 28 AUGUST 1582. WILL OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, WITH CODICIL OF 12 DECEMBER 1582³.

In the name of god amen; The xxviiiith day of August in the Fowre and twentithe yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of god queene of England Fraunce and Irelande Defendour of the faithe etc. I Humphrye Gylbert of Compton in the Countie of Devon knight, beinge in perfecte health and of sounde mynde and memorie (Lawde and praise be therefore given unto allmighty god) Doe make this my present testament and last will in fourme following (viz) First and principallye I doe committ and commend my soule into the handes of allmightie god hoping onely throughe a stedfast faithe by the deathe and passion of my Lorde and Saviour Jhesus Christ to have lief everlastinge, and my body to the earthe wheare yt shall please god to call me

Item I give and bequeathe unto Anne my wief one Thowsand poundes in money whiche I or myne assignes are to receive of Sir Edwarde Hobby knight for the sale of the mannour of Minster and Ridge marshe etc. And my mynde and will is, that if the

¹ This document is in the same hand as the copy of the agreement of 2 November.

² On separate slip stuck on and in a different hand.

³ Somerset House, PCC. 28 Weston.

saide Sir Edwarde Hobbye his heires or executors shall paye the residue of the money for which the same Lande was sould for being the Somme of Twoe Thowsand poundes more accordinge to the intencion and true meaning of the agreement thereof, Then I will and my mynde is, that the same residue of the saide money that is to be paide beinge the somme of twoe Thowsande poundes shalbee equallye devided to and amongste all my childrenn that I shall have lyving at the tyme of the decease of my saide wief (exceptinge that childe that then shalbe my oldest sonne and heire) whome I will shall have not parte thereof, for that he is otherwise provided for by course of Inheritaunce left to discend unto hym: And my mynde will and intent is nevertheless, that yf my saide wife in her widdowhead and within the space of Tenne monnethes (the same money being paide by the saide Sir Edwarde his heires executors or assignes as aforesaide) shall with twoe sufficient sureties or moe become bounde by good and sufficient bondes unto suche as shalbe then my younger childrenn, for the paymente of the saide Twoe Thowsand poundes to them to be paide by equall porcions, the same to be payde to them within the space of Twelve monethes next after her decease, the saide bondes to be takenn to the use of my saide childrenn by the good discession of my good Lorde of Buckhurst, Sir Thomas Cornewalleys, Sir John Gylbert Knightes, John Farneham Thomas Smith, William Awchier Esquiers or any fowre three or twoe of them Yf so many of them then shalbe living, And that the saide bondes shall be and remaine in the custody and keeping of the saide Sir John Gylbert my brother if he be lyvinge and yf he be dead then in the custodye of the saide Sir Thomas Cornewalleys or William Awchier to thuse of my saide childrenn safelye to be delyvered to them, Then I will and my mynde is, that my saide wief shall have the use and occupyng of the sayde twoe thowsand poundes enteringe into bondes as aforesaide for and duringe her naturall lief. Item I doe give all my Landes in the Counties of Devon and Somersett whiche I bought of my Lorde Scrope and all my Leases in Walles to be sould or Leased to the best profit at the discession of my saide wife with the consent of the saide Sir Thomas Cornewalleys, Sir John Gylbert and William Awchier

or any twoe of them yf they shalbe then lyvinge or by ye consent of the survivours of them yf any of them shalbe deceased for the payment of my Debtes and the marriage of Elizabeth Gylbert my daughter and suche daughter or Daughters as my saide wief goeth or is or maie be nowe with childe withall and for the mayneteyninge and bringing upp of my young childrenn duringe my wiefes lief with proviso that the saide Elizabeth shall in the meane tyme happen to be married and the childe wherewith my saide wife nowe goeth withall yf yt shall happen to be a maide childe and to be provided for out of the saide Landes and Leases for their advauncementes in marriage to the severall Sommes of Five hundreth poundes a pece, then hir or their porcion or porcionnes of the saide twoe thowsand poundes to be devided amongst the rest that remayne of the other of my younger childrenn in sorte as aforesaid

Item I give unto my saide wife all my other goodes, bondes of Debte and chattelles whatsoever (Sir Edward Hobbyes onely excepted) whiche I will shalbe to my next heire for the defence of his Lande yf the money be not payde by the saide Sir Edward Hobbye.

Item I doe give & appoint my saide wief to have duringe her naturall lief the whole Mannour of Minster with Ridge marshe withe all other the Landes in Rente which I lately sould unto Sir Edward Hobbye Knight by the name of Edward Hobbye esquier yf by his defaulte of payment of my money nowe remayninge unpaide or by any other cause or matter whatsoever he shall happen to make forfeiture thereof whereby the Inheritance maye come to me my heires or assignes, in which case I doe appointe so muche of my saide Landes to be sould within one yeare nexte after my wifes deathe by the saide Sir Thomas Cornwalleyes or William Awchier as shall make upp the full Somme of Three Thowsande poundes to be devided amongst my younger childrenn in manner and forme aforesaid yf my next heire shall not make payment thereof within twoe yeares next after her deathe, duringe whiche space he shalbe charged withe the fyndinge and mayneteyninge of them all accordinge to their callinges: And I make and ordeyne my saide wief my sole exequatrix of this my last will and testament, And yf yt

shall happen the saide Land solde or assured to Sir Edward Hobbye to fall to me the saide Sir Humfreye by the forfeiture or breache of the Con디션 uppon the sale thereof, which Land by my nowe Devise is to me Dowbtefull whether the same will stand and be of force in lawe or noe, My humble petition therefore is to the Queenes most excellent majestie and to the Lordes of her highnes Counsell That thro my Devise and intent therein expressed concerninge the same Land maie be supplied by her most gracious ayde and assistaunce whereby yf yt maye take effecte accordinge to my true meaninge. In witnes whereof I have to theise presentes sett my hande and seale the daie and yeare fyrst above writtenn. / H. Gilbert. Sealed and delyvered in the presence of us Tho: Hamons, John Pirkham, Frauncis Hutton, Edward Button, George Marten, Anthony Wolcockes mark, William Den, Thomas Trottes marke. /

Memorandum That the saide Sir Humfrey Gilbert beinge of perfect mynde and memorie Dydd afterwarde declare and adde unto his will as followeth: Item my will is that yt shall stand to good effecte in lawe and to be added unto my last will as parte thereof to stande irrevocably as my will dothe or shall: That I doe give to Dame Anne my wief duringe her lief the full moytye of all those thinges goodes and profittes whatsoever that oughte or maye of righte anye waie belonge unto me my heires executors or assignes for or by reason of any graunte made by me to the Companye of the Marchaunt Adventurers withe me the saide Sir Humfrey of the Towne of Sowthampton or elsewheare, And the other moytie to be to the use and behoofe of all children to be equally devided amongst them towards their mayntenaunce bringinge upp and preferment anye waye whatsoever and by the discession of Sir Thomas Cornwallys Sir John Gilbert knightes and William Awchier Esquier. In witnes wherof I have written this with myne owne hand sette my name and seale the Twelveth of December one thowsand fyve hundred eightie twoe in the Towne of Southamptonn. Humfrey Gilbert. /

Probatum fuit suprascriptum testamentum apud London. coram venerabili viro magistro Willelmo Drury legum Doctore curie prerogative cantuariensis commissario etc. vicesimo die mensis Octobris Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo octo-

gesimo quarto. Juramento Francisci Clerk notarii publici procuratoris domine Anne relicte et executricis etc. Cui commissa fuit administracio bonorum etc. de bene etc. Jurat.

102. 7 FEBRUARY 1583. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM¹.

Right honorable, wheras it hath pleased your honour to let mee understande that her majestie of her especiall care had of my well doinge, & prosperous success, hath wished my stay at home from the personall execution of my intended discovery as a man noted of not good happ by sea: for the which I acknowledge my selfe so much bounde unto her majestie, as I know not how to deserve the leaste parte therof, otherwise then with my continuall prayer, and most faythfull and forward service during lyfe: And now to excuse my selfe, and satisfye your honor touching the objections made of my staye, it may please yow to be advertised that in my first enterprise I retorned with great losse, because I would not my selfe, nor suffer any of my compaye to doe any thinge contrarie to my worde given to her majestie and your selfe: for yf I had not farr preferred my credit before my gayne, I needed not to have retorned so poore as then I did. / And touching this my last stay at Hampton, it hath proceeded by Southwest wyndes of godes making and sending: and therefore not my faulte or negligence. But yf I wear giltye of delaye, the principall charge is my owne, and noe losse to any other, for my adventures as I had them for the most parte in wares, so I have them still without any losse to anye of them. And in truthe the outrage of this winter hath ben a common hyndrance to all men of this realme southwarde bounde. Yea and the wyndes so contrarie as that it hath droven shippes from the yles of the Asores uppon this coste without spreading any sayle at all. A thinge I thinke never harde of before. And the king of Portingale beeing at the Tercera coulede not in all this tyme recover the Maderaes, How farr impossible then hadd it ben for mee to have performed my journey this

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/158, 59. Printed by Slafter, pp. 177-80.

winter? Your honour can judge dwelling soe farr to the northewar-
wardes of the place intended to bee discovered. And seeing the
Queenes majestie so to have a fyfthe of all the golde & sylver
there to bee gotten without any charge to her majestie, I truste
her hyghnes of her accustomed favour will not denye mee
libertye to execute that which resteth in hope so profitable to
her majestie & crowne. The great desyre I have to performe the
same hath coste mee first & last the selling and spending of a
thowsand marke land a yeere of my owne getting besydes the
scorne of the worlde, for conceaving so well of a matter that
others held so ridiculous, although now by my meanes better
thought of. Yff the dowbte bee my wante of skill to execute the
same I will offer my selfe to bee opposed, by all the best navi-
gatoures, and Cosmographeres within this realme. Yff it bee
cowardlines, I seeke noe other purgation therof then my
former service don to her majestie. Yf it bee the suspition of
dayntines of dyett or sea sicknes in those both I will yeeld my
selfe second to noe man lyving, because that comparison is
rather of hardines of bodye, then a boste of vertue. But how
little accomte soever is made ether of the matter or of mee, I
truste her majestie with her favour for my xxviii^{tie} yeares ser-
vice will alowe mee to gett my livinge as well as I may honestly
(which is every subjectes righte), and not to constrayne mee by
my idle aboade at home to begg my bredd with my wife and
children, especially seeing I have her majesty's graunte and
lycense under the great seale of Englande for my departure,
withoute the which I would not have spent a penny in this
action. wherin I am most bounde to her majestie for her great
favour, which of all thinges I most desyre: and take comforte in:
protesting that noe man lyving shall serve her majestie more
faythfully and dutifully during my life sith all the good fortune
that god shall bestowe on mee. And thus I truste I have satisfyed
your honour of all my intentes and proceedinges, Leaving your
honour to the tuition of the almighty, From my howse in Red
Crosse streat the 7th of February. 1582.

Your honores most humble

H. Gylberte¹.

¹ Signature holograph.

Addressed:—To the right honorable Sir Frauncis Walsyng-ham Knight Principall Secetarye to her majestie.

Endorsed:—1582 7 Feb: Sir H. Gilbert that he may be suffered to continewe his voyage.

103. 28 FEBRUARY 1583. AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT, SIR GEORGE PECKHAM AND GEORGE PECKHAM¹.

Articles Indented of agreemente made concluded and agreed upon the laste daye of Februarie in the fyve and twentieth yere of the raigne of oure soveraigne ladye Elizabeth by the grace of god Queene of Englande Fraunce and Irelande defendor of the faith &c. Betwene Syr Humfrey Gilbert of Compton in the Countie of Devon knighte on the one partie and Sir George Peckham of Denham in the Countie of Bucks knighte and George Peckham his second sonne on the other partie as followeth viz.

*Scriptum
inter
Gilbert
militem et
Peckham
millitem.*

Inprimis Whereas oure saide Soveraigne ladye the Queenes majestie by her graces lettres Patentes under the greate seale of Englande bearinge date at Westminster the eleventh daye of June in the twentieth yere of her majesties raigne hath geven and graunted unto the saide Syr Humfrey Gilberte his heires and assignes forever free libertye from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter forever to discover searche finde oute and vewe suche remote heathen and barborous landes countries and territories not actuallie possessed of any Christian Prince or people as to hym and his heires or assignes and to every or any of them shall seme good and the same to have holde occupie and enjoy to hym and his heires forever with all commodities Jurisdiccions and rialties both by sea and lande and did likewise by the saide lettres patentes for her majestie her heires and Successors geve full power and auctoritie to the saide Sir Humfrey his heires and assignes and every of them that he and they and every or any of them shall or maye at every tyme and tymes hereafter have take and leade in the saide voyage to travell thitherwardes or to inhabitt there with hym or them and every or any of them

¹ Close Roll, 25 Elizabeth, pt. 8. C 54/1154, m. 2-3. Printed by W. B. Goodwin, 'The Dee River of 1583 (now called Narragansett Bay) and its relation to Norumbega', in *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, xxvii. No. 1 (January 1934), pp. 41-50.

suche and so many of her majesty's subjectes as shall willinglie accompanye him and them and every or any of them with sufficient shipping and furniture for their transportacons so that none of the saide persons or any of them be suche as after the makinge of the saide lettres patentes shoulde be speciallie restrained by oure saide soveraigne her heires or successors the statutes or actes of Parliamente made againste fugitives or againste suche as shall departe remaine or contynue oute of her majesties realme of Englande withoute licence or any other acte statute lawe or matter whatsoever to the contrarie in anywise notwithstandinge as by the saide lettres patentes amongeste other grauntes articles and libertyes therein conteyned more at large appeareth. Nowe the saide Sir Humfrey Gilberte as well for the more spedye execucion of her majesties saide grauntes and thenlargement of her majesties Domynions and govermente and also for the better encouragemente of the saide Sir George Peckham and George hys sonne and their associates in so worthie and comendable an enterprise as also for his and their sure warrante to prosecute the same orderlie accordinge to the lawes and statutes of this realme. And in consideracion that the saide Sir George hath disbursed diverse sommes of money and adventured the same as a principall adventurer with the saide Sir Humfrey as also for divers other weightie and good considerations him the saide Sir Humfrey speciallie movinge for hym his heires executors administrators and assignes and every of them doth covenante promise and graunte to and with the saide Sir George Peckham knight and George hys sonne their heires executors administrators and assignes by theis presentes that the saide Sir George Peckham and George his sonne his and their assignes and associates adventurers and people and every of them shall and may at all tymes hereafter and from tyme to tyme forever have and enjoy full power and free libertie and authoritie by vertue of the saide lettres patentes to discover searche fynde oute and vewe any landes Countries or Islandes heretofore not discovered searched and inhabited by any Christian Prince or people by the assignement of the saide Sir Humfrye his heires and successors and also to enjoye to his and their owne use all that ryver or porte called by Master John Dee, Dee

Ryver which Ryver by the discription of John Verarzanus a Florentyne lyeth in Septontrionall latitude about fortye twoo degrees and hath his mouth lyinge open to the South halfe a league brode or there aboute and enteringe within the saide Baye betwene the Easte and the Northe increaseth his breadith and contynueth twelve leagues or there aboutes and then maketh a gulfe of twentie leagues compasse or thereaboutes and conteyneth in it selfe five small Islandes newlie named the Cinque Isles. And the saide gulfe and the fyve Isles therein and all other Isles lyinge within the saide Ryver or gulfe together with fyfteene hundred thousande acres of ground within the supposed contynent lyinge nexte adjoininge upon the saide ryver gulfe and fyve Isles at the choyce of the saide Sir George and George his yongeste sonne their heires deputies or assignes or any of them. To have holde and enjoye the saide Isle and Islande together with the saide fyfteene hundred thousande acres of landes [blank to end of line] to the saide Sir George Peckham and George Peckham their heires and assignes to hys and their onlie uses forever by Soccage tenure of the same Sir Humfrye his heyres and assignes so as the uttermoste partes or lymyttes of the saide Fyftene hundred thousande acres of grounde extende not alongst the sea coaste westwarde towards the ryver of Norunnbedge above threescore englishe myles in length at the moste with full powre and auctoritie to inhabite people and manure the saide Islandes landes countries and territories with all Jurisdictions priviledges liberties and royalties both by lande and by sea alongest all the costes of the saide countries and territories as is aforesaide yeldinge and payinge unto the saide Sir Humfrye his heires successors or assignes for every thousande acres of grounde of the saide fiftene hundred thousande acres of grounde after the firste seaven yeres proportionallie which the same shalbe actuallie possessed and manured by the saide Sir George Peckham or George his sonne their heires or assignes five shillinges and twoo fyfte partes of all the golde silver pearle and precious stones there growinge founde had and gotten oute of the which twoo fyfte partes the Queenes majesties parte reserved by the lettres patentes ys to be allowed and deducted. Item that they the saide Sir George nor

George his sonne their heires nor assignes shalbe charged with any contribucion towards any Warres other then defencis and that onlie by acte of Parliamente of whiche assemblie the saide Sir George and all those which shall beare the name of an Associate with hym shalbe as principall members in every suche Sessions and assemblie. Item the saide Sir Humfrye for the consideracions aforesaide doth covenante and graunte for him selfe his heires successors and assignes and every of them to and with the saide Sir George Peckham and George his sonne their heires and assignes and every of them by theis presentes that he the saide Sir George and George his sonne their heires assignes and people and every of them shall and maye have and enjoye free liberties to trade and traffique into all suche Countries Islandes Isles and territories and into every and any parte of them which the saide Sir Humfrye his heires successors or assignes shall possesse by vertue of the Queene majesties saide lettres patentes and his graunte thereof and also that he the saide Sir George and George hys sonne their heires and assignes and every of them shall have thexecucion of all lawes Ecclesiasticall temporall politique marshall and Civill both marine and others and every of them aswell within the precinte of the saide fyfteene hundred thousande acres of grounde as also upon the sea coste thereof so farr as the said landes shall extende it selfe as aforesaid Item the saide Sir Humfrye Gilberte for him his heires successors and assignes doth covenante from tyme to tyme upon performance of the covenantes in this booke conteyned to exonerate discharge and sufficientlie to save harmeles the saide Sir George and George his sonne their heires and assignes and everie [m. 3.] of them of and from the Quenes majesties her heyres successors and assignes for and concernynge the payment of the Ewer of golde and silver and other duties services and demaundes to her majestie her heires and successors by the saide lettres patentes payable and reserved and likewise shall and will fynishe suche further and better assuraunce and assuraunces of the premysse unto the saide Sir George and George hys sonne their heyres and assignes forever within three monethes nexte after the first and nexte retorne of the saide Sir Humfrye or hys assignes con-

sortes adventurers or associates from the saide voyage of discoverye by the saide Sir Humfrye nowe intended in suche manner and sorte as by the saide Sir George and George hys sonne their heyres or assignes or any of them or the learned counsell of them or any of them shalbe reasonable and lawfullye devised and required. And the same Sir George and George hys sonne for them selves their heires and assignes and every of them doe covenante promyse and graunt to and with the said Sir Humfrey his heires successors and assignes and every of them by theise presents that they the said Sir George and George hys sonne shall doe their best indevor to procure and obteyne her majesties leave and good lykeinge that all those whoe have or shall adventure with the saide Sir Humfrye Sir George or George hys sonne or eyther of them into the saide Countries and whose names shalbe entered into a register booke for that purpose to be made and kepte and shalbe willinge to travaile into anye of the saide remote Countries maye freelye passe into those countries there to remayne or to retorne backe at hys or their, or any of their will and pleasure And the said Sir George Peckham and George hys sonne doe further covenant and graunte for them selves their heires executors and assignes to and with the said Sir Humfrey Gilbert hys heyres successors and assignes by theis presentes that he nor they nor any of them their heires or assignes shall deferre the execution of Justice within their liberties beinge thereunto required by the saide Sir Humfrey hys heyres successors or assignes against any suche as shall conspire against the person of the saide Sir Humfrey hys heyres successors or principall assignes or commytt any capitall offence or shall deteyne or protecte from Justice any person hys landes or goodes contrarie to the lawes to be established in the before mencioned remote countries and territories nowe ment to be discovered which the saide Sir Humfrey Gilbert hys heyres successors or assignes shall have holde occupie or enjoye by right or tittle under or by vertue of the Quenes majesties lettres patentes to hym graunted as before is mentioned provided alwaies and nevertheles yt is concluded condiscended and agreed by and betwene the saide parties that yf the saide Sir George or George hys sonne their heyres or as-

signes shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter willingly wittinglye and maliciouslye pretend doe or goe about to doe or willinglye suffer to be done any manner of acte thinge or thinges Whatsoever tendinge to the distruccion or subvercion of the said Sir Humfrey hys heyres successors or chief assigne or principall governor or doe or willinglye commytt any acte whereby the saide Sir Humfrye hys heyres successors or assignes shall lose the benefitt of the graunt of the said lettres patentes or he or hys heyres successors or assignes to be by the Quenes Majestie or her successors dissavowed forever or yf he or they doe publiclye or notoriously maynteyne any suche person or persones as shall publiclye or openlye goe about to distroye or overthrowe the right tytle or person of the said Sir Humfrye hys heyres successors or hys chief and principall assigne in principall government or the subversion of the common wealth of the said Sir Humfrey hys heires or successors their Countreys or Terrytories that then and from thensfourth this present graunte and all covenantes therein conteyned to be come voide and of none effecte to all ententes and purposes as yf the same hadd never ben had nor made anythinge in these presentes conteyned to the contrarye hereof in any wise notwithstandinge In wittnes wherof the parties abovesaid to theise present articles Indented Interchaungeable have hereunto putt their handes and Seales yeoven the daye and yere first above written.

Et memorandum quod primo die marcii Annosuprascripto prefatus Humfridus Gylberte miles venit coram dicta domina Regina in Cancellaria sua et recognovit Scriptum predictum ac omnia et singula in eodem contentum et specificatum in forma supradicta

Irrotulatur primo die Julii Anno predicto

Examinatur H.

104. 11 MARCH 1583. SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, PREACHER¹.

A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to M. Richard Hakluyt then of Christchurch in Oxford, encouraging him in the study of Cosmographie, and of furthering new discoveries, &c.

¹ Hakluyt, *Principal navigations* III (1600), 181. Reprinted by Taylor, *Hakluyts*, 196-7.

I understand aswel by a letter I long since received from the Maior of Bristoll, as by conference with Sir George Pekham, that you have endeoured, & given much light for the discovery of the Westernne partes yet unknown: as your studie in these things is very commendable, so I thanke you much for the same; wishing you do continue your travell in these and like matters, which are like to turne not only to your owne good in private, but to the publike benefite of this Realme. And so I bid you farewell. From the Court the 11. of March. 1582.

Your loving Friend,

Francis Walsingham.

105. 11 MARCH 1583. SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO THOMAS ALDWORTH, MAYOR OF BRISTOL¹.

A letter of Sir Francis Walsingham to Master Thomas Aldworth merchant, and at that time Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, concerning their adventure in the Westernne discoverie.

After my heartie commendations, I have for certaine causes deferred the answeere of your letter of November last till now, which I hope commeth all in good time. Your good inclination to the Westernne discoverie I cannot but much commend. And for that sir Humfrey Gilbert, as you have heard long since, hath bene preparing into those parts being readie to imbarke within these 10. dayes, who needeth some further supply of shipping then yet he hath, I am of opinion that you shall do well if the ship or 2. barkes you write of, be put in a readinesse to goe alongst with him, or so soone after as you may. I hope this travell wil proove profitable to the Adventurers and generally beneficiall to the whole realme: herein I pray you conferre with these bearers, M. Richard Hackluyt, and M. Thomas Steventon, to whome I referre you: And so bid you heartily farewell. Richmond the 11. of March. 1582.

Your loving Friend,

Francis Walsingham.

¹ Hakluyt, *Principal navigations* III (1600), 182. Reprinted by Taylor, *Hakluyts*, p. 196.

106. 16 MARCH 1583. SIR WALTER RALEIGH TO SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT¹.

Brother—I have sent you a token from her Majesty an ancor guyded by a Lady as yow See, & farther her Highness willed me to send yow worde that She wished² as great good hap and safty to your Ship as if hersealf were ther in person desireing yow to have care of yowrsealf as of that which She tendereth and therefore for her Sace yow must provide for hit accordingly; farther She commandeth that yow leve your picture with me for the rest I leve till owr meeting or to the Report of this berer who would needs be the messengre of this good newses, So I commit yow to the will and protection of God who Send us such life or death as he shall please or hath appoynted.

Richmonde this fryday morning
Your trew Brother

W Rauley

Addressed:—To my Brother Sir Humfry Gilbert Knight.

*Endorsed*³:—Reseived the 18th of Marche 1582.

¹ State Papers, Miscellaneous. SP 9/55, 1. Copy. The original is now in America in the possession of Mr. Carl H. Pforzheimer. See S. de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, II, 1732. It once formed part of a series of fifteen letters from Raleigh to members of the Gilbert family which, about the middle of the eighteenth century, were in the possession of Pomeroy Gilbert, Fort Major of Plymouth and a descendant of Sir Humphrey. Rough transcripts of four of them were sent to Dr. Thomas Birch, possibly by Pomeroy Gilbert himself. They are now BM, Add. MS. 4231, f. 85, and include this letter. Pomeroy Gilbert sold the fifteen letters and a transcript was made of them, from which the above copy is taken. I am grateful to Mr. Seymour de Ricci for putting me in touch with Miss Agnes M. C. Latham, who discovered the transcript in the Public Record Office and who very kindly gave me the reference. She has described the letters in a communication to *The Times Literary Supplement* of 4 February 1939. The originals were subsequently scattered and Mr. de Ricci has traced the history of a number of them in *Census*, I, 118, II, 1732.

² BM, Add. MS. 4231, f. 85, adds 'you'.

³ Presumably in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's hand in the original.

107. 17 MARCH 1583. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II¹.

The ships, which I wrote to your majesty that Hongi Gilberto [Humphrey Gilbert] was fitting out on behalf of the Catholics to go to the Florida coast, are now getting ready to start, as they think that the two which they sent to reconnoitre last summer are delaying too long.

108. 31 MARCH 1583. STEPHANUS PARMENIUS, BUDAEUS, *De navigatione illustris et magnanimi equitis aurati Humfredi Gilberti* . . .².

. . . it happened, according to my wish, that, while I was taking pains to pay my respects to the excellent men in London, and to become acquainted with them, my very accomplished and learned friend Richard Hakluyt introduced me to you, explaining to me, at the same time, your most noble design of shortly conducting a colony into the new world. In the meantime I could perceive, that that body and spirit of yours were worthy of the perpetual remembrance of posterity, and hence began to attend to them with such respect, that when, soon after, I everywhere heard more concerning your virtues and exploits, I thought it the most favourable time possible, to discharge some part of my duty, and to express somewhat of my regard toward you and your nation. This is the primary object of my poem. For the rest, may you prosperously go and return, most noble sir, and secure my regard by your benevolence, authority, and renown. Farewell. March 31, 1583.

¹ Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xcii, 476. Extract, translated. *CSP Sp.* 1580-6, no. 322.

² Extract from prefatory letter to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, translated in *Massachusetts Hist. Soc. Collections*, ix (1804), 57. The Latin poem, published in 1583 with a title-page dated 1582, is purely rhetorical and does not contain any information on Gilbert. It was reprinted by Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), pp. 701-18; III (1600), pp. 137-43.

109. 27 MARCH 1583. THOMAS ALDWORTH, MAYOR OF BRISTOL TO SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM¹.

A letter written from M. Thomas Aldworth merchant and Maior of the Citie of Bristoll, to the right honourable Sir Francis Walsingham principall Secretary to her Majestie, concerning a Western voyage intended for the discovery of the coast of America, lying to the Southwest of Cape Briton.

Right honourable, upon the receipt of your letters directed unto me and delivered by the bearers hereof M. Richard Hakluyt and M. Steventon, bearing date the 11. of March, I presently conferred with my friends in private, whom I know most affectionate to this godly enterprise, especially with M. William Salterne deputie of our company of merchants: whereupon my selfe being as then sicke, with as convenient speede as he could, hee caused an assembly of the merchants to be gathered: where after dutifull mention of your honourable disposition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment caused your letters being directed unto me privatly, to be read in publike, and after some good light given by M. Hakluyt unto them that were ignorant of the Countrey and enterprise, and were desirous to be resolved, the motion grew generally so well to be liked, that there was eftsoones set downe by mens owne hands than present. & apparently knowen by their own speach, and very willing offer, the summe of 1000. markes and upward: which summe if it should not suffice, we doubt not but otherwise to furnish out for this Western discovery, a ship of threescore, and a barke of 40. tunne, to bee left in the countrey under the direction and government of your sonne in law M. Carlile, of whom we have heard much good, if it shall stand with your honors good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are also willing to have M. Steventon your honours messenger, and one well knowen to us, as captains. And here in humble maner, desiring your honour to vouchsafe us of your further direction by a generall letter to my selfe, my brethren, and the rest of the merchants of this city, at your honors best and most convenient

¹ Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), p. 718; III (1600), 182.

leisure, because we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voyage, any further then to the end of April next coming, I cease, beseeching God long to blesse and prosper your honourable estate. Bristoll. March 27. 1583.

110. APRIL 1583. CHRISTOPHER CARLEILL, 'A BRIEFVE AND SUMMARY DISCOURSE UPON THE INTENDED VOYAGE TO THE HITHERMOST PARTS OF AMERICA'¹.

A briefve and summary discourse upon the intended voyage to the hithermost parts of America: written by Captaine Carleile in April, 1583. for the better inducement to satisfie such Merchants of the Moscovian companie and others, as in disbursing their money towards the furniture of the present charge, doe demand forthwith a present returne of gaine, albeit their said particular disbursements are required but in very slender summes, the highest being 25. li. the second at 12. li. 10. s. and the lowest at 6. pound five shillings.

When² the Goldsmith desireth to finde the certaine goodnesse of a piece of golde, which is newly offered unto him, he presently bringeth the same to the Touchstone, where, by comparing the shewe or touch of this new piece with the touch or shew of that which he knoweth of old, he foorthwith is able to judge what the value is of that, which is newly offered unto him. After the example whereof I have thought it good to make some briefve repetition of the particular estate of many other forren voyages and trades already frequented and knowen unto us, whereby we may be the better able to conceive and judge what certaine likelihood of good there is to be expected in the voyage,

¹ Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), pp. 718-23; III (1600), 182-7. Collated with two manuscript versions in State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, SP 12/155, 87, 88. Both are in the same handwriting which may be Carleill's and both are endorsed in the same hand, which is not that of the body of the documents. SP 12/155, 88, is probably an earlier draft. Hakluyt follows SP 12/155, 87, fairly closely, but a few of the amendments in his version are taken from SP 12/155, 88, and it is probable that his copy derived from a version by Carleill later than both the MS. versions here noticed.

² SP 12/155, 87, begins here. The heading, in a different hand from the body of the document, is 'Discourses on American Voiages'.

which is presently recommended unto¹ your knowledge and resolution.

Moscovie.

And first to lay downe that of Moscovia, whose beginning is yet in the remembrance of many: It is well knowen, that what by the charges of the first discovery, and by the great gifts bestowed on the Emperour and his Nobilitie, together with the leud dealing of some of² their servants, who thought themselves safe enough from orderly punishment, it cost the company above fourescore thousand pounds, before it could be brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after so long a patience and so great a burthen of expences, the same began to frame to³ some good course and commoditie: It falleth to very ticklish termes, and to as slender likelihood of any further goodnesse, as any other trade that may be named.

For first the estate of those Countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by every body understood⁴.

Dutchmen.

Next, the Dutchmen are there so crept in as they daily augment their trade⁵ thither, which may well confirme that uncertainty of the Emperours disposition to keepe promise with our nation.

Thirdly, the qualitie of the voyage, such as⁶ may not be performed but once the yeere.

Fourthly, the charges of all Ambassadors betweene that Prince and her Majesty, are alwayes borne by the merchants stocke⁷.

Denmarke.

And lastly, the danger of the king of Denmarke, who besides that presently he is like to enforce a tribute on us, hath likewise an advantage upon the ships⁸ in their voyage, either homewards or outwards whensoever he listeth to take the opportunitie.

¹ 'to'. SP 12/155, 87.

² 'of' omitted. SP 12/155, 87.

³ 'unto'. SP 12/155, 87.

⁴ SP 12/155, 88, begins: 'The charges of beating out this Moscovia trade before it could be reduced to any profitable course did cost the companie above threscore thowsand Poundes And nowe the same is growne to some beneficiall reckonyng it falleth to verie ticklishe tearmes. For first the Emperours dealing and th' estate of that Countrey are things more doubtfull then is by everie bodie understood.'

⁵ 'estate'. SP 12/155, 88.

⁶ 'as it maye'. SP 12/155, 87.

⁷ This paragraph omitted, SP 12/155, 88.

⁸ 'our shipping'. SP 12/155, 87; 88.

The badde dealings of the Easterlings are sufficiently knowen *Easterlings.* to be such towards our merchants of that trade, as they doe not onely offer them many injuries overlong to bee written, but doe seeke all the meanes they can, to deprive them wholly of their occupying that way: and to the same purpose have of late cleane debarred than their accustomed and ancient priviledges in all their great townes.

The traffique into Turkie, besides that by some it is thought *Turkie.* a hard point to have so much familiaritie with the professed and obstinate enemie of Christ: It is likewise a voyage which can not be made but at the devotion, and as it were in the danger of many states, who for sundry respects are apt to quarrell with us upon sudden occasions, and the presents to be given away in Turkie this yeere, cost little lesse then two thousand pounds¹.

As for the trades into all the partes of Italie, it may easily be *Levant.* considered by every one of judgement, that the same stand² in the like termes touching the passages, as that of Turkie, and that many times our shippes being taken in the way by the Gallies of Alger³, our poore Mariners after the losse of their goods and travell, are set at such excessive ransoms before they can bee freed of their slaverie⁴, as for the most part they are no way able to discharge. As for example, at this instant there are some prisoners, poore ordinarie Mariners, for whose releasing there must be payed two hundred Duckets the man, for some three hundred, yea, foure or five hundred Duckets the man for some of them. And how enviously the Venetians⁵ doe already oppose themselves against our frequenting into their parts, may appeare by the late customs which they have imposed as well upon our English merchandize which we fetch from them.

The trade into Barbarie groweth likewise to worse termes *Barbarie.* then before times, and when it was at the best, our merchants have bene in danger of all their goods they had there, whensoever it happened the king to die. For untill a new were chosen,

¹ 'and the presents . . . pounds', omitted. SP 12/155, 88.

² 'standeth'. SP 12/155, 87; 88.

³ 'Barbary'. SP 12/155, 87; 'Barbarye'. SP 12/155, 88.

⁴ For 'as . . . discharge', 'as is verie straunge to be thought on'. SP 12/155, 88.

⁵ 'they'. SP 12/155, 87.

the libertie of all disordered persons is such, as they spoile and wrong whom they list, without any redresse at all.

*Spaine.
Portugall.*

*Remember
the great
arrest of
the Hol-
landers.
An.
1598².*

Touching Spaine and Portugall, with whom wee have very great trade, and much the greater, by meanes of their venting a good part of our wares in¹ their Indies, as also of the provision they have from the same, wherewith are made many of our retournes from them againe: It falleth out that twice the yeere ordinarily we send our Fleetes into those parts: So that whensoever the king of Spaine listeth to take the opportunitie, hee may at these seasons deprive us not onely of a great number of our very good ships, but also of our honestest and ablest sort of Mariners that are to bee found in our whole Realme againe, which is a matter of no small consequence: for it is to be noted, that when hee shall take a³ quarell in hand, though it be but his owne particularly, yet hath he the meanes to put in hazard as well those our shippes which are in his owne Countreys of Spaine and Portugall, as also all others which shall bee bound to any the partes of all Italie or of Turkie either. And further whosoever hee bee that is but⁴ meanely affected in Religion, as of necessitie becommeth every ordinarie man and good Christian to be, cannot but be agrieved in his heart to consider, that his children and servants whom hee desireth to have well brought up, are in these trades of Spaine and Portugall, and all Italie, forced to denie their owne profession, and made to acquaint themselves with that which the Parents and Masters doe utterly deny and refuse, yea which many of them doe in their owne hearts abhorre as a detestable and most wicked doctrine.

But who shall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereabouts, of that hithermost part of America, shal find it hath as many points of good moment belonging unto it, as may almost be wished for.

*Commo-
dities of
this
voyage in
short-
nesse⁵.*

1 As first it is to be understood, that it is not any long course, for it may be perfourmed too and fro in foure moneths after the first discoverie thereof.

¹ 'into'. SP 12/155, 87.

² In 1600 edition of Hakluyt only.

³ 'the'. SP 12/155, 88.

⁴ 'but so meanlie'. SP 12/155, 87-8.

⁵ Not in either of the MS. versions.

2 Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the passage, whereas most of your other voyages of like length, are subject to 3. or 4. winds.

3 Thirdly, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yeere.

4 Fourthly, that the passage is upon the high sea, wherby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that Countrey, and of ours here at home.

5 Fifthly, that those parts of England and Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or homeward upon this voyage, are very well stored of goodly harbours.

6 Sixtly, that it is to bee accounted of no danger at all as touching the power of any forreine prince or state, when it is compared with any the best of all other voyages before recited.

7 And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they their servants or children, shall have no instruction or confessions of Idolatrous Religion enforced upon them, but contrarily shall be at their free libertie of conscience, and shall find the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable unto their Parents and Masters.

As for the merchandising, which is the matter especially looked for, albeit that for the present we are not certainly able to promise any such like quantitie, as is now at the best time of the Moscovian trade brought from thence: So likewise is there not demanded any such proportion of daily expences, as was at the first, and as yet is consumed in that of Moscovia and other.

Commodities of the countrey more then those of Moscovie.

But¹ when this of America shall have bene haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende, as the other hath bene, I doubt

¹ From 'America' on, p. 354, line 31, SP 12/155, 88, reads: 'maye well consider that it is not any longe course, that it is to be performed at all times in the yere, and that by godes good permission one Shipp maye make it three times in the yere, yet allowing a reasonable time for her unlading and relading in either parte boath there and here. A voiadge of verie smale daunger in respect of the sea passadge, and to be accompted of no daunger at all as touching the power of any Prince or other State when it is compared with any the best of all th' others before recited And as concernyng the merchaundizing which is the matter especiallie looked for; It may be thus answered, that albeit for the present we are not certenlie able to promise a tenth parte of that quantitie which is now at the best time of the Moscovian trade brought from thence, So likewise is there not demanded the twentieth parte of suche expences as was consumed in that of Moscovia. And . . .'

not by Gods grace, that for the tenne shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscovia¹, there shall in this voyage twise tenne be employed well, twise the yeere at the least. And if for the present time there doe fall out nothing els to bee found then the bare Fishing, yet doubt I not after the first yeeres planting, but by that matter only to serve halfe a dozen² of your best sort of ships, although my supply of people doe not follow me so substantially, as in all reason may be well looked for.

*The
severall
mer-
chandise.*

But when³ it is asked what may be hoped from thence after some yeeres, it is first to be considered, that this situation in fourtie degrees, shall bee very apt to gather the commodities either of those parts which stand to the Southward of it, as also of those which are to the Northward.

In the Northerlie may be expected not onely⁴ an especiall good fishing for Salmon, Codde, and Whales, but also any other such commodities, as the Easterne Countreys doe yeeld us now: as Pitch, Tarre, Hempe, and thereof cordage, Masts, Losshe hides, rich Furres⁵, and other such like without being in any sort beholding to a king of Denmarke, or other prince or state that shall be in such sort able to command our shippes⁶ at their pleasure, as those doe at this day, by meanes of their strait passages and strong shipping.

As for those partes which lie West and to the Southwardes, it may well bee hoped they will yeeld Wines with a small helpe, since the grapes doe growe there of themselves alreadie very faire and in great abundance. Olives being once planted, will yeelde the like Oyle as Spaine, Province⁷ and Italie. The Countrey people being made to know, that for Waxe and honie, we will give them such trifling things as they desire of us, and shewing them once the means how⁸ to provide the same, the labour

¹ 'into Moscovia', omitted. SP 12/155, 88.

² 'iii or iiij'. SP 12/155, 87; 88.

³ 'But if'. SP 12/155, 88.

⁴ 'not onely', omitted. SP 12/155, 87.

⁵ 'mastes furres, loshe hides'. SP 12/155, 88.

⁶ 'Shipping'. SP 12/155, 87.

⁷ 'Province' omitted. SP 12/155, 87; 88.

⁸ 'to handle and to provide'. SP 12/155, 87-8.

thereof being so light, no doubt but in short time they will earnestly care to have the same in good quantitie for us. Besides, what great likelihoode there is of good meanes to make Salt, which may serve for the fishing of those partes, may well enough appeare unto them, who can judge the qualitie of such places as are required to make the same in.

*A lake of
salt in
Vasques
his
voyage¹.*

Thus much for the beginning, because they may bee had with an easie kinde of travell: but when it may have pleased God to establish our people there any such time as they may have planted amongst them in sundry partes of the Countrey, and that by gentle and familiar entreating them, they bee made to see what is better for them then they doe as yet understand of, and that in so many sorts of occasions as were infinite to be set downe: It is to bee assuredly hoped, that they will daily by little and little forsake their barbarous and savage living, and growe to such order and civilitie with us, as there may be well expected from thence no lesse quantitie and diversitie of merchandize then is now had out of Dutchland, Italie, France or Spaine. And as the bordering neighbours are commonly the aptest to fall out with us, so these parts being somewhat² remote, are the liker to take, or give lesse occasion of disquiet³. But when it is considered that they are our own kindred, and esteemed our own countrey nation which have the government, meaning by those who shall be there planted, who can looke for any other then the dealing of most loving and most assured friends?

There are further⁴ to be considered these two poynts of good importance, concerning the matter of trade. The one is, that by

¹ Not in either of the MS. versions.

² 'somewhat further remote'. SP 12/155, 87-8.

³ In margin: 'This is spoken upon ye opinion which by some is conceived y^t Irelande is not suffred to growe to y^t perfection which it myghte be, Least one daye revoltinge by chaunce from ye Crowne, it myghte prove an over-stronge party to be so neare an Ennemy'. SP 12/155, 87.

⁴ The beginning of this paragraph in SP 12/155, 88, reads: 'But for this poynte tending to matter of Estate maye be saide so muche in thapprovaunce hereof and to the instigating us forward as I knowe not any one the like matter agayne that can be laide downe in comparrison with the same. My purpose is to satisfie the merchaunt and therefore to retourne to that which maye seeme to concerne the matter of trade, there is further . . .'

the good prospering of this action, there must of necessitie fall out a very liberall utterance of our English Clothes into a maine Country, described to bee bigger then all Europe, the larger part whereof bending to the Northward, shall have wonderfull great use of our sayde English Clothes¹, after they shall come once² to knowe the commodite thereof. The like will bee also of many other things, over many to bee reckoned, which are made here by our Artificers and labouring people, and of necessitie must bee provided from hence.

The other is, if there be any possible meanes to finde a sea passage or other fresh water course, which may serve in some reasonable and convenient sort, to transport our marchandize into the East Indian Sea, through any of these Northerly partes of America, it shall be soonest and most assuredly perfourmed by these who shall inhabite and first grow into familiaritie with the Inland people.

What Minerall matter may fall out to bee found, is a thing left in suspence, untill some better knowledge, because there be many men, who having long since expected some profits herein, upon the great promises that have bene made them, and being as yet in no point satisfied, doe thereupon conceive that they be but wordes purposely cast out for the inducing of men to bee the more ready and³ willing to furnish their money towards the charge of the first discoverie⁴.

Objection. But nowe to answere some others who begin with another objection, saying: That it is not for the Marchants purse to continue the charges of transporting and planting: and that since these hundred men which are nowe to bee planted, will cost foure thousand pound: It is then to bee thought, that the charge of a farre greater number, will bee also a farre greater summe of money.

Answer. Whereunto I answere, that in all attemptes unknownen, especially such a one as this is, wherewith wee are presently in hand,

¹ 'English', omitted. SP 12/155, 87-8.

² 'once come'. SP 12/155, 87.

³ 'ready and', omitted. SP 12/155, 87.

⁴ For lines 19 to 25, SP 12/155, 88, reads: 'because there be some men who have alreadie promised mountaynes long since, and hetherto have not acquitted any thing at all in discharge thereof'.

the first charges are commonly adventured in more desperate kinde, then those that followe upon some better knowledge: and therewith it falleth out, that whereas one adventureth in the first enterprise, an hundred for that¹ one will of themselves bee willing and desirous to adventure in the next, if there bee never so little more appearance, that the intended matter is by some knowledge of our owne, found true in some poynts of our first presumption.

The examples are many, and may easily bee remembred by those who be Marchants, even in their ordinarie and dayly trades, as well as in extraordinarie attempts, which of late yeeres have fallen into those termes of some likelihood, as is aforesayde. So then no doubt, but when certaine reports shall bee brought by them who directly come from thence, that such a Countrey and people they have themselves seene, as is by us spoken of, but that then there will come forward a greater number of those, who nowe neither have heard any thing of the matter, as also of others³ who presently make such frivolous scruple⁴, and will not otherwise be satisfied, then by the report of Saint Thomas. I speake not this by the Marchants whom for their freedoms of trade⁵ I would not have pressed to any further charge then this first preparation⁶, but rather by such as have great affection to hazard the changing of their estates, and would be well content to goe in the voyage if they might onely be assured that there is such a Countrey, & that their money should not be wasted to nothing in the preparations.

*The ewer
of metal
brought
by M.
Frobisher,
caused two
severall
supplies,
the two
yeeres
next fol-
lowing;
whereof
the latter
was of
thirteene
tall ships².*

The right examination of this point must bee the contrary sequell of the common Proverbe that is used⁷, Nothing venture,

¹ SP 12/155, 88, reads: '... enterprise twenty year an hundreth for one'.

² SP 12/155, 88, has no marginal note. That in SP 12/155, 87, reads: 'The Ewre of mettall browghte by Mr Frobusher cawsed a great supply to be furnyshed ye yeare followinge. Sir Fra: Drake his onely passedge through ye llandes of Molucca was ye chiefest occasion of ye preparation thither which coste not lesse then xiiii or xv thowsand powndes'. The latter reference is to Fenton's expedition with which Carleill had been connected. See p. 58, above.

³ 'of those ... others', omitted. SP 12/155, 87.

⁴ 'scruple and doubtess'. SP 12/155, 88.

⁵ 'freedomes of traffiques'. SP 12/155, 87.

⁶ 'whom for their freedoms ... preparation', omitted. SP 12/155, 88.

⁷ 'that is used', omitted. SP 12/155, 87.

nothing have: so on the other side by venturing, many great good profiters are found out, to the wonderfull benefite of the Common weale¹, and to those especially in private, who take on them the hazard of their life and travell, or substance in the first attempts: and therefore I would wish that they, who (God be thanked) are well able to spare that which is required of each one towards the undertaking of this adventure, be well content and willing to imploy the same, since the sequell in good and substantiall reason doth promise, not onely a great commoditie in particular to the Marchant, who shall here at home exercise the trade of Marchandise: but also to an infinite number of other, who presently live in poore estate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this discoverie, alter the same to a far better degree. Wherefore to make some conclusion upon this point of the Marchants misdoubt, who suspecteth lest this first disbursement without returne of present gaine, should not be all his charge, but that afterwards he might yet further be urged to continue the like again, as hath happened in the discovery of the Moscovian trade: It may suffice to consider, that this is not an action which concerneth onely the Marchants particularly, but a great deale more the generall sort of people throughout all England: And that when such relation shall be returned, as that it may bee found a matter worthy the following, the whole generalitie will not refuse to contribute towards the furtherance thereof, rather then it should sinke for want of any reasonable supply².

But as it is a very little time, since I have beene throughly resolved to trie my fortune in the matter, so it is more then time the preparation were in hand already, and therefore no fit time now to make any number of ignorant men to understand with reason the circumstance that belongeth to a matter of so great consideration and importance.

To those who have any forward mindes in well doing to the generalitie of mankind, I say thus much more³, that Christian charitie doth as greatly perswade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may be layed before us, in as much as thereby

¹ 'Common wealth'. SP 12/155, 87.

² The whole paragraph omitted. SP 12/155, 88.

³ 'I saye thus much & further'. SP 12/155, 87.

wee shall not onely doe a most excellent worke, in respect of reducing the savage people to Christianitie and civilitie, but also in respect of our poore sorte of people, which are very many amongst us, living altogether unprofitable, and often times to the great disquiet of the better sort. For who knoweth not, how by the long peace, happie health, and blessed plentifulnesse, wherewith God hath endued this Realme, that the people is so mightily encreased, as a great number being brought up, during their youth in their parents houses, without any instruction how to get their livings after their parents decease, are driven to some necessitie, whereby very often for want of better education they fall into sundry disorders, and so the good sort of people, as I sayde before, are by them ordinarily troubled, and themselves led on to one shamefull ende or other, whereas if there might bee found some such kinde of imployment as this would be, no doubt but a greater part of them would be withheld from falling into such vile deedes: and in steade thereof, proove greatly serviceable in those affaires, where they might be so imployed.

This I speake of mine owne experience, having seene divers come over to the warres of the lowe Countreys during my residence in the same, who here had beene very evill and idle livers, and by some little continuance with us, have growen to be very industrious in their facultie, which I can assure you, was a more painefull maner of living then in this action is like to fall out, and withall to a purpose of farre lesse value, in respect of their particular recompence, then with an assured kind of good hope is looked for in this.

*Master
Carliles
owne ex-
perience.¹*

Thus you see² in every point that may bee wished for in a good action and voyage, there is matter and reason enough to satisfie the well disposed. But nowe to growe somewhat neerer the quicke, and to shewe you some greater appearance, then hath beene yet spoken of touching the trade which is the onely subject wherewith I doe meane to intermeddle at this time, because my addresse hereby is chiefly to men of such like facultie: you may understande by that which followeth³, the circum-

¹ Not in MS. versions.

² 'see nowe'. SP 12/155, 87.

³ SP 12/155, 87, reads: '... spoken of concerning the trafficques you may understand by that followeth'.

stance of a little discourse, which doeth concerne these matters very directly.

In the yeere 1534. James Carthier, of S. Malo¹ made his first discoverie of those partes of America, which lie to the Westwardes, and as it were on the backside of Newfoundland. In which voyage his principall intention was to seeke out the passage, which hee presumed might have beene found out into the East Indian Sea, otherwise called the passage to Cathaya, but this yere he went no higher then the Island of the Assumption in the great bay of S. Laurence, and so returned backe into France.

The next yeere following hee went with greater provision into the Grand bay againe, where he keeping the Northerly shoare, ran up the great River that comes downe from Canada and other places, untill at last with his small pinnesses, (having left his great shipping by the way) he arrived at Hochelaga towne, being three hundreth leagues within the entrance of the Grand bay. In which travaile he had spent so much of the yeere, that it was now the moneth of October, and therefore thought it convenient, for the better enforming himselfe at large in this discoverie, to winter it out in those partes. which he did at a place called by himselfe Holy Crosse. This winter fell out to bee a very long and hard winter, as many times the like happeneth with us in these partes, and the savage people, who for the most part make but a slender kinde of provision, even as it were from hande to mouth, fell into some scarcitie of victuals; yet did they not refuse to serve the Frenchmen, with any thing they had all the winter long, albeit at somewhat higher prices towards the ende when the neede was most, as with our selves the like happeneth at such times.

But when the French had their wants served all the yeere, and that as yet they sawe not any appearance of their intended matter, which was the discoverie of the passage, and yet imagining by the signes wherewith the willing people endeavoured to declare their knowledge in that poynt, that some good matter might bee had from them, if they might have beene well understoode, they resoulded with themselves to take some of the sufficientest men of that countrey home into France, and there to

¹ 'Deepe'. SP 12/155, 87.

keepe them so long, as that having once atchieved the French tongue, they might declare more substantially their minde, and knowledge in the sayde passage, concluding this to be the meane of least charge, of least travaile, and of least hazard.

And when thay came to bethinke themselves, who might bee meetest for it, they determined to take the King, as the person who might bee best infourmed of such partes as were somewhat remote from his owne Countrey, as also that for the respect of him, the people would bee alwayes readie, and content to doe them any further service, when it should happen them to returne thither againe about the discoverie.

Thus the poore king of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions comming aboorde the French shippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterously caryed away into France, where hee lived foure yeeres, and then dyed a Christian there, as Thevet the French Kings Cosmographer doeth make mention. This outrage and injurious dealing did put the whole Countrey people into such dislike¹ with the French, as never since they would admit any conversation or familiaritie with them, untill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to grow out of minde, and being the rather drawn on by gyfts of many trifling things, which were of great value with them, they are as (I sayde) within these two or three yeeres content againe to admit a traffique, which two yeeres since was begunne with a small barke of thirtie tunnes, whose returne was found so profitable, as the next yeere following, being the last yeere, by those Marchants, who meant to have kept the trade secret unto themselves, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a shippe of fourescore tunnes out of the Isle of Jersey², but not any one Mariner of that place, saving a shipboy. This shippe made her returne in such sorte, as that this yeere they have multiplyed three shippes, to wit, one³ of nine score tunnes, another of an hundreth tunnes, and a third of foure score

The French trade renewed in Canada, in the yeere 1581².

¹ 'mislike'. SP 12/155, 87.

² Omitted in SP 12/155, 88. SP 12/155, 87, has, in the margin opposite 'two yeeres since' (line 25), 'Beeing the yere 1581'.

³ In margin, '1582'. SP 12/155, 87.

⁴ For 'three shippes, to wit, one', SP 12/155, 87, has 'their shipping to be one'.

tunnes: which report is given by very substantiall and honest men of Plimmouth, who sawe the sayd shippes in readinesse to depart on their voyage, and were aboard of some of them.

Here is at this instant in the towne a man of Gernesey, Lewis de Vike, who reporteth to have credibly heard, that by this last yeeres voyage the Frenchmen got fourteene or fifteene hundredth for every one hundredth: But how soever it be, it carrieth good likelyhood of some notable profite, in asmuch as they doe so greatly, and thus suddenly encrease the burthen and number of their ships this present yeere.

*The South
part best
for in-
habiting
and
traffique.*

Nowe, if in so little as two yeeres time this voyage of the Northerne partes bee growen to such good passe as hath beene declared unto you: it is worth the thinking on to consider what may be hoped for from the Southerne part, which in all reason may promise a great deale more. And so, as one who was never touched with any indirect meaning, I presume to wish and perswade you to some better taking of this matter to heart, as a thing which I do verely thinke will turne to your greater and more assured commodity, then you receive by any other voyage, as yet frequented of so short and safe a course as this hath: dealing herein no otherwise with you for your severall small summes, then I doe with my selfe, both for more of mine owne, then is required of any one of you: besides the hazard and travaile of my person, and the totall imployment of my poore credit, which (I thanke God) hath hitherto passed cleare and unspotted in matters of greater importance and difficultie, then is like to fall out in this matter¹ betweene you and me².

III. 6 MAY 1583. DON BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II³.

The Council has urged on the Catholics that if they would give a sum of money to continue the Florida expedition for

¹ 'matter' omitted. SP 12/155, 87.

² SP 12/155, 87, is endorsed, 'Discourse upon ye intended voyage to ye hethermoste partes of America written for ye better instruction of ye marchantes in ye same by Capten Carleill'; and SP 12/155, 88, 'Discourse upon the vyadge to ye hethermoste partes of America'.

³ Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xcii, 200-1. Extract, translated. CSP Sp. 1580-6, no. 336.

which Jorge Gilbert [Humphrey Gilbert] has gone with the ships, of which I wrote to your Majesty, with a course to the north part and coast of Norumberg, both prisoners and the others would be allowed to live without their cases being enquired into. Being already warned that the expedition is an unjust one, and fearing also that it is only an expedient for discovering them, they are not coming forward with any offer, although some spendthrift and ruined Catholics have gone with Jorge Gilbert [Humphrey Gilbert], selling for this purpose what remained to them.

112. 6 MAY 1583. NICHOLAS FAUNT TO ANTHONY BACON¹.

We have sondry voyages of Discoverye in hand and some already entred into; Sir Humfrey Gilbert is once againe Crossing sayle towards a part of America not yet perfectly discovered: with whom Mr Rawley our newe favorite hath made an Adventure of 2000 li. in a shippe and furniture therto. / Sir Thomas [sic] Peckham is towards some such Course and one Mr Carlisle a gentleman allyed to my Master wherby you may perceave y^t our long peace doth not breed in us all slothfull and abject myndes: but that this Island is of to streight boundes to conteyne some of us &c. . . .

From the Court at Grenewich the vith of Maie 1583.

Yours most unfaynedly & ever to Commande in the Lord:

Nich: Fant.

113. [9 MAY 1583]. ARTICLES OF THE MUSCOVY COMPANY RELATIVE TO CHRISTOPHER CARLEILL'S PROJECT².

The Comittyes Mr Alderman Harte Mr Spencer Mr William Bourrough Mr Hoddesdon Mr Towerson Mr Staney³ Mr Stapers Mr Maye Mr John Castelin Mr Leake

¹ Lambeth, Tenison MS. 647, f. 151v. Extract.

² State Papers Colonial, CO 1/1, 1. Printed by Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), pp. 724-5; III (1600), 188-9, with the title 'Articles set downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe of the Companie of Moscovian Marchants, to conferre with M. Carlile, upon his intended discoverie and attempt into the hithermost parts of America'. Another manuscript version is in BM, Lansdowne MS. 37, ff. 164-5, and this supplies the date. Hakluyt's version appears to be from a different, and later, draft.

³ 'Slanye'. Hakluyt.

Pointes sett downe by the Comities appointed in the behalfe of the companie to conferre with Mr Carleill upon his entended discoverie and attempte in¹ the northern partes of America.

First the Comitties are well perswaded that the Countrey whereunto this action pretendeth² ys verie fruitefull enhabited with savadge people of a mylde and tractable disposition, and that of all other places which are unfrequented at this daie yt ys ye onely most fitted and most commodious for us to entermedle with all.

The convenientest manner of attemptinge the enterprise is thought to be thus That there should be one hundred men conveyed thither to remaine there one whole yeare whoe with frindellie entreatie of the people maie enter into the better knowledge of the particuler Estate of the Countrey and thereby gather what commodities maie be hereafter, and presentlie looked for³.

The⁴ chardge to transporte these hondred men to victuall them and to furnishe them of muinition and other needefull thinges, will not be lesse then fower thowsande poundes. One thowsande poundes whereof hathe ben verie readellie offered by the Cittie of Bristoll, the residewe beinge three thowsande poundes remaineth to be furnished by this Cittie of London⁵.

The Committies thincke it convenient that before they departe with their money, a privilege shoulde be procured by Mr Carleill from her Majestie to the behoofe of the first Adventurers And yet meaninge this with all that before her Majestie shalbe moved therein, each man shall subscribe his owne name and somme of monney which he will adventure in a booke to thende that yt maie first be assuredlie knowne howe the presente chardge shalbe furnished.

¹ 'into'. Lans. MS. 37, f. 164.

² 'is intended'. Hakluyt.

³ 'or presently looked for'. Hakluyt; 'or presentlie be looked for'. Lans. MS. 37, f. 164.

⁴ In margin, 'The furnishing foorth of 100. men for one yeere will cost 4000. li.' Hakluyt.

⁵ 'or any others who will adventure their money in this first preparation'. Hakluyt.

The said privilege to conteine in effecte this much as hereafter followeth.

That it maie please her Majestie to graunte unto the first adventurers th'one halfe¹ of all suche Landes, Territories, Townes, mynes of golde and silver and other metalls whatsoever that shalbe fownde, gotten obtained and conquered by this discoverie yeldinge to her Majestie one fifte parte of all the goulde and silver as shall happen to be had owte of any mynes that soe shalbe fownde.

That these partes² which doe adventure themselves personallie in the presente discoverie shall³ have th'other halfe of all the Landes, Territories, Townes, Mynes of gowlde and silver and other mettalls yeldinge to her Majestie one fifte parte of the said mynes, as th'Adventurers be⁴: the same to be distributed by the Generall⁵ at his discretion.

Also that all trade of merchandize which shalbe used to & from those partes which by this discoverie shalbe fownde oute, shall appertaine onelie to th'Adventurers which firste shall disburse their monney for this discoverie with prohibition to all other her Majestie⁶ subjectes and other merchaunts to deale in the said partes with out the consent of the first Adventurers upon⁷ paine of Losse of ship and goodes, and punishment of their personnes that so shall adventure by Imprisonnement at the Companies pleasure.

That all personnes which hereafter shall adventure in this discovery shalbe such as⁸ first disburse their monney for

¹ 'The Committies thinke it convenient that a Privilege should be procured by Master Carlile from her Majesty, by vertue whereof these conditions and Articles following may be effectually provided for.

First, that they who shall disburse their money for the first preparation, shall be named Adventurers, and shall have the one halfe'. Hakluyt.

² 'those parties'. Hakluyt; Lans. MS., f. 164v.

³ 'shall be named Enterprisers, and shall'. Hakluyt.

⁴ 'do'. Hakluyt.

⁵ 'with the consent of the greatest part of twelve discrete persons to bee chosen out of the whole number of the Enterprisers'. Hakluyt.

⁶ 'Majesties'. Hakluyt.

⁷ 'uppon losse of shippe and goods, and punishment of their persons, that so shall adventure in trade of merchandise: or otherwise by imprisonment at the Companies pleasure'. Hakluyt.

⁸ 'as doo'. Lans. MS. 37, f. 164v.

the same And shall not hereafter adventure any further somme but ratably accordinge to the proportion of this first Adventure¹.

Also the proffitte which by this discoverie shalbe attained unto ether by Lande which maie be conquered or otherwise gotten As also all such proffitte which by this discoverie shalbe obtained by mynes or otherwise², that ech one shall have his parte of the same rate & rate like accordinge to the proportion of their firste Adventure and not otherwise³.

That by the patent which ys to be obtained, be graunted, that all her Majestes subjectes maie transporte themselves thither that shalbe contented to goe, And that the patented⁴ maie ship thither from tyme to tyme somanie and such personnes men women and Children as they shall thincke meete And the same persons to enhabite or remaine their at their pleasure any Lawe to the contrarie notwithstandinge⁵.

Yt ys meete that such order be taken that noe personne nor personnes goe over but such as shalbe bounde to staie and enhabite there 10. yeres at the Least excepte such as goe to merchandize And therefore meete for non to goe over without Licence of the patentees first obtained.

That yt shall not be Lawfull for any of her Majestes subjectes or any other to enhabite or trafficque within 200.⁶ leagues any

¹ 'That no person shall hereafter adventure in this discoverie as Adventurers for the profits mentioned in the first Articles, but such onely as doe disburse their money in this first preparation: and they shall not adventure hereafter any greater somme, then ratably according to their proportion of his their first adventure'. Hakluyt.

² 'otherwise gotten'. Hakluyt.

³ Hakluyt adds a further paragraph: 'The Adventurers in this first preparation shall, at their owne free will and libertie, choose whether they will supply hereafter any further charge or not: if there doe fall out any such occasion to require the same. And yet withall shall for ever holde to them the freedome of the trade which shall growe in any of those partes: notwithstanding their sayd refusall to beare any further charge'.

⁴ 'the Patentee or his assignes'. Hakluyt; 'the patentees'. Lans. MS. 37, f. 164v.

⁵ Hakluyt omits the following paragraph and reads: 'notwithstanding, with expresse prohibition, as is mentioned in the third article, against all others, which shall go thither without the licence of the patentee or his assignes first obtained'.

⁶ 'one hundred'. Hakluyt.

waie of the place where the Generall shall¹ have first settled his beinge and² residence.

Endorsed.—Pointes thought meet by the committees to be put in execution for ye dispatch of m. Carlisles voyage³.

114. 15 MAY 1583. AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR GEORGE PECKHAM AND WILLIAM ROSEWELL⁴.

This Indenture made the Fiftenth daie of Maye in the five and Twentith yere of the Raigne of oure Sovereigne ladye Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of Englande Fraunce and Irelande defendor of the faithe &c. Betwene Sir George Peckham of Denham in the Countye of Buck. knighte on thone partie And William Rowsswell of Forde in the Countye of Devon Esquier on thother partie wittnesseth That whereas oure saide Sovereigne ladye the Queenes majestie by her graces lettres Patentes under the greate Seale of England bearinge date at Westminster the eleventh daie of June in the Twentithe yere of her majesties Raigne hath geven and graunted unto Sir Humfrey Gilberte of Compton in the saide Countie of Devon knighte and to his heires and assignes forever free libertie from tyme to tyme and at all tymes thereafter forever to discover searche fynde oute and vewe suche remoate heathen and barbarous landes Countries and territories not actuallie possessed of any Christian Prince or people as to him his heires and assignes and to every or any of them shall seme good. And the same to have holde occupie and enjoye to him his heires and assignes forever with all commodities Jurisdiccions and Royalties both by Sea and lande. And where also the saide Sir Humfrey Gilberte aswell for the more speedye executinge of her majesties saide graunte and the enlargement of her highnes domynions and governemente. And also for the better encoragemente of the saide Sir George and his Associates in so worthie and commendable an enterprise And for [m. 32] his sure warrante to prosecute the same orderlie

Indenturas inter Peckham et Rowsswell.

¹ 'first plant himselfe' crossed out.

² 'or'. Hakluyt.

³ Lans. MS. 37, f. 165v, is endorsed: 'Articles set downe by the Committies appointed for the dealinge in the vyadge to America under the Conduction of Capten Carleill. The nynth of Maye 1583'.

⁴ Close Roll, 25 Elizabeth, part 8. C 54/1154, m. 31-2.

accordinge to the lawes and Statutes of this Realme And in consideration that the saide Sir George hath disbursed diverse sommes of money and adventured the same as a principall Adventurer with the saide Sir Humfrey towards his nowe intended voiage for discoveringe and inhabitinge of certen partes of America so mente by him or his assignes to be discovered As also for diverse other waightie and good consideracions him the saide Sir Humfrey especiallie movinge for hym his heires executors administrators and assignes and everye of them by his deede indented bearinge date the Sixtenth [*sic*] daye of June in the fowre and Twentieth yere of her majesties saide Raigne and enrolled in her highnes Courte of Chauncerie did covenante promise and graunte to and with the saide Sir George Peckham his heires executors administrators and assignes That he the same Sir George Peckham his heires assignes Associates Adventurers and people and everye of them shall and may at all tymes hereafter and from tyme to tyme forever have and enjoye full power and free libertye and auctoritie by vertue of the saide lettres Patentes to discover serche finde oute and vewe and also to enjoye to his and their owne use so moche and suche choise of the saide landes at the choise of the saide Sir George his heires assignes or Adventurers within the saide Countrie of America as shall amounte to the nomber and quantitie of fyve hundred thousande acres of grounde everye acre to conteyne fowre pole in bredth fortie pole in lengthe and to allowe twentie and fowre foote to every poole with full power and auctoritie to inhabite people and manure the saide fyve hundred thousande acres of grounde. Together with all jurisdiccions and priviledges liberties benefittes and commodities and emolumentes whatsoever for the governenge inhabitinge disposinge peoplinge and manuringe the premisses and everye parte and parcell thereof holdinge the same premisses of the saide Sir Humfrey his heires Successors and assignes by fealtie in free Soccage and not otherwise. To have holde and enjoye the saide five hundred thousande acres of grounde commodities jurisdictions and liberties and all other the premisses and every parte thereof with their appurtenaunces unto the said Sir George his heires and assignes to thonellie use of him the same

Sir George and of his heires and assignes forever. And that he the saide Sir George his heires assignes associates Adventurers and people and everye of them shall and maye have and enjoye free libertie to trade and trafique into all the landes Isles and Countries and everye parte thereof which the saide Sir Humfrey hys heires Successors or assignes shall discover or possesse by vertue of the Queenes majesties saide lettres patentes or his graunte thereof. And also that he the saide Sir George shall have the execucion of lawes ecclesiasticall temporall politike marshall and Civill both maryn and others and everye of them aswell within the precincte of the saide five hundred thousande acres of grounde as also uppon the Sea costes so farr as the saide landes shall extende As by the saide lettres pattentes and deede thereof made amongeste dyverse other thinges therein conteyned more playnelie at large appeareth. Nowe the saide Sir George Peckham knighte aswell for and in consideracion of a certayne Somme of lafull englishe money with him the saide Sir George adventured by the saide William Rowsswell as a principall Adventurer in the saide voiage for which purpose the saide Sir George and others have setto the Seas a conveniente number of Shippes at all poyntes manned furnished and victualled. And for other good causes and consideracions him the saide Sir George especiallie movinge doth covenaumte promise and graunte to and with the saide William Rowsswell his heires executors administratores and assignes by thes presentes. That the same William Rowsswell his heires and assignes shall and maye at all tymes hereafter and from tyme to tyme forever have and enjoy full power and free libertye and aucthorytie by vertue of the saide lettres patentes and assignement of the premisses to him made. To have holde and enjoy the number and quantitie of one hundred thousande acres of grounde beinge and to be scituate and lying altogether parcell of the saide Five hundred thousande acres of grounde being and scituate and lying altogether parcell of the saide five hundred thousande acres of grounde to the saide Sir George graunted as aforesaide everye acre to conteyne fowre pole in bredthe and fortie pole in lengthe and to allowe sixtene foote and an halfe to every pole with full power and aucthoritie to the same William Rowsswell. That he

shall or may aswell make his firste choise of the same one hundred thousande acres of grounde before any other Adventurer whatsoever that shall adventure with the saide Sir George by and under the saide graunte as also to inhabite people and manure the same one hundrede thousande acres of grounde Together with all prerogatives jurisdictiones priviledges liberties benefittes commodities and emolumentes whatsoever on the lande for the governenge inhabitinge disposinge peoplinge and manuringe the same and everye parte and parcell thereof in as large and ample manner and forme as the saide Sir George his heires and assignes shoulde or mighte have enjoyed the same by vertue of the saide lettres patentes and graunte thereof as aforesaide to him made. Holdinge the same of the saide Sir George Peckham knighte his heires and assignes in Soccage tenure by fealtie onlie. And yeldinge and payinge for the same to the Queenes majestie her heires and successors and to the patentie his heires and assignes in all thinges as the saide Sir George Peckham yeldeth and paieth for the saide five hundred thousande acres of grounde before graunted rateable accordinge to the quantitie nomber and porcion of the saide one hundred thousande acres of grounde That is to saye to the saide Sir Humfrey Gilberte his heires and assignes yerelie for the saide one hundred thousande acres of grounde after the firste seven yeres which the same shalbe actuallie possessed and manured by the saide William Rowsswell his heires or assignes three pence and two fifte partes of all the golde sylver perle and precious stones there growinge and gotten oute of the whiche the Queenes majestyes parte reserved by the saide lettres patentes to be allowed. And further yeldinge and payinge to the saide Sir George yerelie everye yere on the firste daye of Januarie One steele Targett and one good arminge Sworde in the name of a Cheifage onelie. And further the saide Sir George Peckham knighte for the consideracions aforesaide doth by theis presentes and by vertue of the saide lettres Patentes and accordinge to the auctoritie to him geven Graunte and confirme to the saide William Rowsswell and to his heires and to Tenne of his assignes and Factors serving with him or them and to their heires males forever free libertie to trade and trafique into and

from any of the saide Countries to be discovered by the saide Patentie or by the saide Sir George Peckham or by them or either of them their heires deputies or assignes or any of them In wittnes whereof the saide parties to theis presente Indentures interchangeablie have sett their handes and Seales the daye and yere firste above written.

Irrotulatur vii die Novemberis Anno predicto

Et Memorandum quod die et Anno suprascripto prefatus Georgius Peckham Miles venit coram dicta domina Regina in Cancellaria sua et recognovit Indenturam predictam ac omnia et singula in eadem contentam et specificatam in forma suprascripta.

Examinatur H.

115. 20 MAY 1583. EARL OF SHREWSBURY TO THOMAS BAWDEWYN¹.

Bawdewyn.

Where you write to me in your letters of the 14th of this instant that Mr. Captain Carlile intended shortly to voyage for the discovery of America, and that he requested me to adventure £100 with him, wherein you desire to know my pleasure; for mine own part, you know that I have already many irons in the fire, and sundry occasions, and therefore had rather disburthen myself of some than enter into more; but if he like to take my ship with him, and that Mr. Hawkins be contented therewith, I could be the rather drawn to it, because I must set her forth, and furnish her some way. . . . I would you should talk with Mr. Hawkins about my ship, and hear his opinion what is best to be done for her. I think the best were to sell her, if I might. I have no liking she should go a scraping, but I would you should see some way with her, because the time of the year passeth apace, and I like not she should lie idle. . . . I received, as this letter was writing, another letter from you, with Mr. Hawkins' note and others, of Mr. Carlile's voyage to America;

¹ Edmund Lodge, *Illustrations of British history* (1838), II, 241-3. Extracts. Printed, with modernised spelling, from College of Arms, Shrewsbury MS. G, f. 202. This MS. was not available at the time of printing.

and if Mr. Hawkins like not to have my ship to go with him, I would yet that you should adventure 100 marks with him in this his pretended discovery rather than fail, for his friends' sake, and favourers of the voyage, if he be such a one as you report him to be; and so I cease.

Sheffield, the 20th of May, 1583.

Your Lord and Master,

G. Shrewsbury.

116. 26 MAY 1583. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT TO [WILLIAM BARWICK], MAYOR OF SOUTHAMPTON¹.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Mr. Anthony Cooke | 66 - 13 - 4 |
| Captin Jhon Allyne | 5 - 0 - 0 |
| Mr. Giles Arkenshall | 50 - 0 - 0 |
| Mr. Thomas Chapman | 10 - 0 - 0 |
| Mr. Bartholemew Hoges | 100 - 0 - 0 |
| Mr. Roger Hay | 35 - 0 - 0 |
| Waynwryght | 5 - 0 - 0 |
| Michell bowles | 5 - 0 - 0 |
| | 210 - 0 - 0 ² |

Master Mayer

I praye you enter thes men beyng eyghte men emongst them to be alloyd in seyll and previledge³ of adventurer as fre men in the discovery for all trades acordynge to the spessiall somes above wryte not excedynge the some of two hunderyd and ten poundes.

Hamble the 26. of Maye 1583.

H. Gylberte

¹ Miscellanea, Southampton Municipal Records. This letter was discovered by Professor J. Rutherford when sorting some miscellaneous documents during the preparation of his edition of *The Stockwell Papers* (Southampton Record Society, 2 vols., 1932-3). Its provenance is probably the town records rather than the papers of the Stockwell family which came into the possession of the town in the seventeenth century. The letter is holograph and is written on a narrow strip of paper.

² Here and in the body of the letter Gilbert omits the £66 13s. 4d. entered above to Anthony Cooke. The true total is £276 13s. 4d.

³ *Crossed out*:—'of my'.

117. 30 JUNE 1583. INSTRUCTIONS TO THE VICE-ADMIRALS OF DEVONSHIRE¹.

No. 214. 'A note of Comissions to passe fourthe in tyme of this vacacion to enquire of thaidours and abettors of pyrates in Devon / . . .

Another to Sir Robert Denys Knight George Carye esquier and Robert Hill esquier viceadmirall there or to any two of them for ye weste partes of Devon towarde Dartmowth and Plym-mowthe

With lyke interrogatories and a remembrance withall to knowe what is become of the Scottishe shippe and goodes taken by Chales and his companye and reskued by Sir Humfrey Gilbert. And if any of the sayde Chales companye maye be fownde to examen them therein &c.'

No. 215. Letter of the Privy Council to [the Lord Admiral?], enclosing certain instructions for the repressing of piracy to be sent to Sir Robert Denys, George Carye, Esq., and Roberte Hill, Esq., Vice-admirals of the County of Devon.

No. 216. Instructions. '5. Item further tenquier whate is become of the Scottishe shippe and goodes late taken att the Seas by Challys and his company, and. rescued from [him] by Sir Humfrey Gylberte, And yf any of the said Challis cumpany maye bee founde to examyn them alsoe togeather with all such as have receaved or intermedled with the said shippe and goodes or eanye parte of the same and to procede with them accordinge to the instructions foresaid. /'

118. 1583. CIRCULAR LETTER FROM SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO POTENTIAL ADVENTURERS².

After my Hartie Commendacions whereas I am enformed by Mr Anthonie Brigham that upon some conference he findeth in you a verie good enclynacion to the western discoveries so as

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Exemplifications, 1583-5. HCA 14/22. Abstract and extracts.

² State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/165, 35. Draft. Printed by R. B. Merriman, 'Some notes on the treatment of English Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth', in *American Historical Review*, XIII (1907-8), 496-7.

you maie be sufficientlie aucthorised so to doe and have a Societie by yourselves without joigneing with anie gentleman or anie other Citties or Townes other then suche as yourself shall make choise of I am of opinion you shall doe well to herken unto suche offers as Sir Philipp Sidney & Sir George Peckham will make unto you who have sufficient Aucthoritie by & under her Majestes Lettres patentes to performe theeffect of your Desire. No whit mystrusteng but that this voiage will prove proffitable to thadventurers in particler & generallie beneficiall to the whole realme, So expecteing your annswere I bidd you hartelie farewell the [blank] daie of [blank] 1583
Your loveing freind

Endorsed:—The mynnute of a lettre for Mr Secretary. Minute of a Letter touching the discovery in America 1583.

119. JULY 1583. AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR PHILIP SIDNEY AND SIR GEORGE PECKHAM¹.

[f. 124] Articles Endented concluded and agreed upon the [blank] daye of Julye in the xxvth yere of the Reigne of our Sovereigne ladye Elizabeth by the grace of god Quene [of] England Fraunce and Ireland defender of the faith &c. Betwene syr Philipp [Syd]ney of Penthurst in the county of Kent knight on the thone partye And Sir George Peckham of Denham in the countie of Kent [*sic*] knight on thother partye

Imprimis wheras the said syr Philipp Sydney by good and sufficient assuraunce in the Lawe fromme and under her majestes lettres patentes knowledged and enrolled in the Chauncerye is licenced and aughtorized to discover search Find out vew & inhabit certene partes of America not yet discovered And out of those contries by him his heires factours or assignes to have and enjoye to him his heires and assignes forever such and so much [f. 125] quantytye of ground as shall amount to t[he] nu[m]ber of Thirtye hundred thousand acres of ground and wood with all commodyties Jurisdiccions and Royalties both by sea and land with full power and auctorytys That yt shall & may be Lauffull to and for the said syr Philipp Sydney his heires and

¹ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/161, 44. Draft.

assignes at all tymes therafter to have take and leade in the said voyage to travaill thitherwards or to inhabit there with him or them & every or any them such and so meny her majestes subiectes as shall willingly accompanye [f. 126] him and them and every or any of them with sufficient shipping and furniture for their transportacions as by the said lettres patentes & assurances amongst divers others Articles and liberties therein contained more at large appereth Now the said sir Philipp Sydney as well for the more spedye execucion of her majestes said graunt & the enlargemente of her majestes domynions & governmentes & for the better incoragemente of the said Sir Georg Peckham and his associates in so worthy and comendable an enterprese as also for divers other causes & consideracions him [f. 127] speciallye movinge for him his heires executours [a]dministrators & assignes doth covenante & promise and graunte to & with the said Sir Georg Peckham his heires & assignes by their presentes That he the same Sir Philipp Sydney his heires & assignes shall & will at all tymes hereafter upon the Lauffull request of the same Sir Georg his heires or assignes make or cause to be made such good & sufficient assurance in the Lawe of the said xxx^m Acres of Land lyinge within the same contries unto all & every such person & persons Guyld mysterys body pollytiques or corporate [f. 128] his heires or assignes shall nominate and [ap]ppointe In such larg and ample maner and forme to the same person or persones Guyld misterye bodye pollytique or corporate so to be nominated or Appointed his or their heires successours or assignes and every of them As the said Sir Philipp his heires or assignes can or may convey or assure the said xxx^m acres of Land together withall Royalties titles prehemynences privileges liberties and Dignyties therunto belonging to any person or persons or to any uses whatsoever by vertue of the said assuraunces or the said lettres patentes

Item the saide syr Philipp Sydney for the consideracion aforesaid [f. 129] is contented & agreed that all and every such some [or] somes of money and other commodyties whatsoever which by th[is] assignement shalbe procured gotten & received of any ther persone or persones Guyld misterye bodye pollytique [or]

corporate aforesaid adventurers for & Towardes the said discovery shalbe paid to the same Syr Georg his heires or assignes for & Towardes his and their charges in Funshing [*sic*] & setting forth a supplye of shippinge & victuell men municion & other necessities unto the said contres without an accompte to be yelden therfore by the same Syr Georg his heirs or Assignes unto¹ the said Syr Philip Syneye his heyres

In wytnes

Endorsed:—The right worshipfull syr Phillip Sydney knight

120. 6 AUGUST 1583. EXAMINATIONS OF JOHN CARTER AND LANCELOT CLAYTON².

6 August 1583. John Carter late of minsterworthe in the Countye of Glocestershire examined before Doctor Cesar of his late beinge at the seas and what bowties he hath there taken Sayethe that this examinante beinge shipped with others on borde the Barcke Rawleye whereof Mighaell Butler was Captayne to serve on a viadage with Sir Humfreye Gilbert to Norrembegge and for want of victualls to performe the viadage the said Captayne put in with Plimouth the havon abowte vi weekes laste where this examinante with Lewes Ley, Walter Strete with others to the number of xviii persons tooke the Barcke Rawleys shippe boate and therewith borded a frenche shippe ladon with salte ridinge in Plimouth the havon whiche they caryed to seas, and put the frenche men on shore at a place called Dodman in Devonshire.

Beinge asked what other prizes he and his companye [took] with the said frenche shippe Sayethe they tooke none /

Beinge asked yf he and his companye broke not uppe the Cabon of Mr Rawleys shippe deniethe the same.

Yet beinge further examined what prizes he and his companye toke with the said Frenche shippe Sayethe that he and his companye in Julye laste on the quoaste of France aborded and tooke two frenche shippes one ladon with fishe and the other with salte which they caryed awaye, and detayned untill he was apprehended by Captayne Gunston aboute a fortnight paste At the

¹ Inserted in another hand.

² High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, Oyer and Terminer. HCA 1/42.

takinge of whiche shippes he sayethe the said Launcelott Cleyton with the reste aforenamed were. And more cannot depose.

Jhon Carter

{ W. Aubrey
{ Jul. Caesar

6 August 1583. Lancelott Cleiton late of the Nontwiche in Chesshire gent examined also of his beinge at the seas and where he laste served Sayeth that he served in the Barcke Rawleye and was shipped therein to serve for a Souldier, and the viadage beinge lefte of this examinante minded to goo on shore and forsake the said shippe in Plimouth the havon and there fore requested some of his companye to sett him on shore And there-uppon the said Carter with xviii persons more wente into the shippes boate to goe on lande as this examinante thoughte And beinge in the boate they broughte this examinante altogether agaynste his will in borde a frenche shippe ridinge in the havon of Plimouth the whiche they aborded and caryed awaye altogether agaynste this examinantes consente to the seas. Where abowte iii weekes after in the quoaste of France they also tooke ii other frenche shippes on laden with salte and the other with fishe whiche they also detayned contrarye to this examinantes will untill he and his companye were apprehended by Captayne Gunston and broughte to Portesmouth, and from thence to this Citie as he sayethe Of whiche spoyles he sayethe as they were don agaynste his will, soo likewise had he nothinge of the same in eanye Sorte nether could at eanye tyme gett on lande from theire companyes untill the tyme they were taken as afforesaid.

Lannslet Clayton

{ W. Aubrey
{ Jul. Caesar

121. 6 AUGUST 1583. STEPHEN PARMENIUS OF BUDA TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, PREACHER¹.

To the worshipfull, Master Richard Hakluyt at Oxford in Christchurch Master of Arts, and Philosophie, his friend and brother.

¹ Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), 698-9; III (1600), 162-3. Hakluyt's translation. Reprinted by Taylor, *Hakluyts*, pp. 199-202.

I had not purposed to write unto you, when the promise of your letters came to my mind: You thought in June last to have followed us your selfe, and therefore I had left order that you should be advertised of my state, by Master Doctor Humfrey: but so you would not be satisfied: I will write therefore to you almost in the same words, because I have no leasure at this time, to meditate new matters, and to vary or multiply words.

The 11. of June we set saile at length from England in good earnest, and departed, leaving the haven and land behind us at Plimmouth: our Fleete consisted of five shippes: the greatest, which the Admirals brother had lent us, withdrew her selfe from us the third day, wee know not upon what occasion: with the rest we sailed still together till the 23. of July: at which time our view of one another being intercepted by the great mists, some of us sailed one way, and some another: to us alone the first land appeared, the first of August, about the latitude of 50. degrees, when as before we had descended beyond 41. degrees in hope of some Southerly windes, which notwithstanding never blew to us at any fit time.

It is an Island which your men call Penguin, because of the multitude of birdes of the same name. Yet wee neither sawe any birds, nor drew neere to the land, the winds serving for our course directed to another place, but wee mette altogether at that place a little before the Haven, whereunto by common Councell we had determined to come, and that within the space of two houres by the great goodnesse of God, and to our great joy. The place is situate in Newfound land, betweene 47. and 48. degrees, called by the name of Saint Johns: the Admirall himselfe by reason of the multitude of the men, and the smalnesse of his ship, had his company somewhat sickly, and had already lost two of the same company, which died of the Flix: of the rest we conceive good hope. Of our company (for I joyned my selfe with Maurice Browne, a very proper Gentleman) two persons by a mischance were drowned, the rest are in safetie, and strong, and for mine owne part I was never more healthy. Wee arrived at this place the third of August: and the fift the Admirall tooke possession of the Countrey, for himselfe and the

kingdome of England: having made and published certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England: at this time our fare is somewhat better, and daintier, then it was before: for in good sooth, the experience of so long time hath taught us what contrary winds wee have found, and what great travell wee may endure hereafter: and therefore wee will take such order, that wee will want nothing: for we found in this place about twenty Portugall and Spanish shippes, besides the shippes of the English: which being not able to match us, suffer us not to bee hunger starved: the English although they were of themselves strong ynough, and safe from our force, yet seeing our authoritie, by the Queenes letters patents, they shewed us all maner of duety and humanitie.

The maner of this Countrey and people remaine now to be spoken of. But what shall I say, my good Hakluyt, when I see nothing but a very wilderness? Of fish here is incredible abundance, whereby great gaine growes to them, that travell to these parts: the hooke is no sooner throwne out but it is eftsoones drawne up with some goodly fish: the whole land is full of hilles and woods. The trees for the most part are Pynes and of them some are very olde, and some yong: a great part of them being fallen by reason of their age, doth so hinder the sight of the land, and stoppe the way of those that seeke to travell, that they can goe no whither: all the grasse here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fit for corne: for I found certaine blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing, they may easily be framed for the use of man: here are in the woodes bush berries, or rather straw berries growing up like trees, of great sweetnesse. Beares also appeare about the fishers stages of the Countrey, and are sometimes killed, but they seeme to bee white, as I conjectured by their skinnnes, and somewhat lesse than ours. Whether there bee any people in the Countrey I knowe not, neither have I seene any to witnesse it. And to say trueth, who can, when as it is not possible to passe any whither? In like sort it is unknowne, whither any mettals lye under the hilles: the cause is all one, although the very colour and hue of the hilles seeme to have some Mynes in them: we mooved the

Admirall to set the woods a fire, that so wee might have space, and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconvenience that might thereof insue: for it was reported and confirmed by very credible persons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fish never came to the place about it, for the space of 7. whole yeeres after, by reason of the waters made bitter by the Turpentine, and Rosen of the trees, which ranne into the rivers upon the firing of them. The weather is so hote this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layd out to be dried by the sunne, be every day turned, it cannot possibly bee preserved from burning: but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountaines of yce, in the midst of the Sea have taught us: some of our company report, that in May, they were sometimes kept in, with such huge yce, for 16. whole dayes together, as that the Islands thereof were threescore fathoms thicke, the sides wherof which were toward the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole masse or heape was so inverted and turned in maner of balancing, that that part which was before downeward rose upward, to the great perill of those that are neere them, as by reason wee may gather. The ayre upon land is indifferent cleare, but at Sea towards the East there is nothing els but perpetuall mists, and in the Sea it selfe, about the Banke (for so they call the place where they find ground fourty leagues distant from the shore, and where they beginne to fish) there is no day without raine. When we have served, and supplied our necessitie in this place, we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the South, with so much the more hope every day, by how much the greater the things are, that are reported of those Countreys, which we go to discover. Thus much touching our estate.

Now I desire to know somewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but specially I desire out of measure to know how my Patrone master Henry Umpton doth take my absence: my obedience, and duetie shall alwayes bee ready toward him as long as I live: but in deede I hope, that this journey of ours shalbe profitable to his intentions. It remaineth that you thinke

me to be still yours, and so yours as no mans more. The sonne of God blesse all our labors, so farre, as that you your selfe may be partaker of our blessing. Adieu, my most friendly, most sweete, most vertuous Hakluyt¹: In Newfound land, at Saint Johns Port, the 6. of August. 1583.

Steven Parmenius of
Buda, yours.

122. 8 AUGUST 1583. SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT TO SIR GEORGE PECKHAM².

Sir George, I departed from Plymouth on the eleventh of June with five sailes, and on the thirteenth the Barke Rawley ran from me in faire and cleere weather, having a large winde. I pray you sollicite my brother Rawley to make them an example of all Knaves. On the third of August wee arrived at a Port called Saint Johns, and will put to the Seas from thence (God willing) so soone as our ships will be ready. Of the New-found Land I will say nothing, untill my next Letters. Be of good cheare, for if there were no better expectation, it were a very rich demaynes, the Country being very good and full of all sorts of victuall, as fish both of the fresh water and Sea-fish, Deere, Pheasants, Partridges, Swannes, and divers Fowles else. I am in haste, you shall by every Messenger heare more at large. On the fifth of August, I entred here in the right of the Crowne of England; and have engraven the Armes of Englande, divers Spaniardes, Portugals, and other strangers, witnessing the same. I can stay no longer; fare you well with my good Lady: and be of good cheare, for I have comforted my selfe, answerable to all my hopes. From Saint Johns in the New-found Land, the 8. of August, 1583.

Yours wholly to command, no man more,

Hum. Gilbert.

¹ '& nos ama' omitted in translation.

² Purchas, *Hakluytus posthumus*, III (1625), 808.

123. 8 AUGUST 1583. EXAMINATIONS OF ROBERT ROPER AND EDMUND PROCTER¹.

8 August. Robert Roper Late of Boxford in the Countye of Suff. maryner examined before the said Mr Doctor Cester of his beinge at the Sease Sayethe that comminge from Sir Humfrey Gilberte of late to Swannidge and there seyinge Captaine Arnolde under sayle this examinante with abowte vi persons more nowe prisoners with him tooke a boate beinge a Fisshinge and wente on borde the said Arnewoode From whence he wente to the Downes and thereabowte tooke a shippe with Coales, and shortly after they them selves were taken by the Barcke Talbott, and from thence brought to this prison with the said Arnewoode and the reste of his companye nowe prisoners who were at the takinge of the said shippe /

[mark]

Jul. Caesar

8 August. Edmond Procter of London Sayler examined also of his beinge at the seas Sayethe That he of late was preste² to goo with Sir Humfrey Gilberte on his late viadge and comminge to Dartmouthe fell sicke and was discharged from thence by lande to Studlande where he found Arnewoode abowte a monethe paste with abowte xxx men redye bound to goe to the sease. On borde whom he went and shortlye after the said Arnewoode to sea, and on the quoaste of France assaulted and tooke a shippe with coales whiche was taken with them bye the Barcke Talbott: when they were apprehended And more deposethe not Edmonde Procter

Jul. Caesar.

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Examinations, Oyer and Terminer. HCA 1/42. Twenty depositions of 8 August, one of 9 August and one of 15 August concern the ship *Roebuck*, Captain Arnewoode (or Arnolde), which lay at Studland and Swanage between three weeks and a month before, ostensibly collecting men for the service of the Prince of Orange in Flanders, but actually fitting out for piracy. It took prizes in the English Channel and was captured by the *Bark Talbot*.

² This is the only suggestion that Gilbert was empowered to or did impress men for the expedition.

124. [OCTOBER 1583?]. EDWARD HAYES' NARRATIVE OF SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT'S LAST EXPEDITION¹.

A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord 1583 by sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, with other gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discover and to plant Christian inhabitants in place convenient, upon those large and ample countreys extended Northward from the cape of Florida, lying under very temperate Climes, esteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actual possession of any Christian prince, written by M. Edward Haie gentleman, and principall actour in the same voyage, who alone continued unto the end, and by Gods speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.

Many voyages have bene pretended, yet hitherto never any thorowly accomplished by our nation of exact discovery into the bowels of those maine, ample and vast countreys, extended infinitely into the North from 30 degrees, or rather from 25 degrees of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bene taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment upon the same, as well may appeare both by the little we yet do actually possesse therein, & by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those lands, which unto this day we know chiefly by the travell and report of other nations, and most of the French, who albeit they can not challenge such right and interest unto the sayd countreys as we, neither these many yeeres have had opportunity nor meanes so great to discover and to plant (being vexed with the calamities of intestine warres) as we have had by the inestimable benefit of our long and happy peace: yet have they both waies performed more, and had long since attained a sure possession and setled government of many provinces in those Northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into those forren and remote lands had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

The first discovery of these coasts (never heard of before)

¹ Richard Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), pp. 679-97; III (1600), 143-61. Probably first written up about October, when Hayes reported to Peckham (pp. 444-6 below), and retouched before Hakluyt published it.

*The
coasts
from
Florida
North-
ward first
discovered
by the
English
nation.*

was well begun by John Cabot the father, and Sebastian his sonne, an Englishman borne, who were the first finders out of all that great tract of land stretching from the cape of Florida unto those Islands which we now call the Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed unto the crowne of England. Since when, if with like diligence the search of inland countreys had bene followed, as the discovery upon the coast, and out-parts therof was performed by those two men: no doubt her Majesties territories and revenue had bene mightily enlarged and advanced by this day. And which is more; the seed of Christian religion had bene sowed amongst those pagans, which by this time might have brought forth a most plentiful harvest and copious congregation of Christians; which must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way: or els whatsoever is builded upon other foundation shall never obtaine happy successe nor continuance.

And although we can not precisely judge (which onely belongeth to God) what have bene the humours of man stirred up to great attempts of discovering and planting in those remote countreys, yet the events do shew that either Gods cause hath not bene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted so abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet revealed unto those infidels before the appointed time.

But most assuredly, the only cause of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will also bring forward at the time assigned by God, an effectuall and compleat discovery & possession by Christians both of those ample countreys and the riches within them hitherto concealed: whereof notwithstanding God in his wisdom hath permitted to be revealed from time to time a certaine obscure and misty knowledge, by little and little to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cause) and thereby to prepare us unto a readinesse for the execution of his will against the due time ordeined, of calling those pagans unto Christianity.

*A fit con-
sideration.*

In the meane while, it behooveth every man of great calling, in whom is any instinct of inclination unto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which if the same proceed of ambition or avarice, he may assure himselfe it commeth not of

God, and therefore can not have confidence of Gods protection and assistance against the violence (els irresistable) both of sea, and infinite perils upon the land; whom God yet may use an instrument to further his cause and glory some way, but not to build upon so bad a foundation.

Otherwise, if his motives be derived from a vertuous & heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captived by the devill, tyrannizing in most woonderfull and dreadfull maner over their bodies and soules; advancement of his honest and well disposed countrey-men, willing to accompany him in such honourable actions; reliefe of sundry people within this realme distressed: all these be honorable purposes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherwith he is well pleased, who will assist such an actour beyond expectation of man. And the same, who feeleth this inclination in himselfe, by all likelihood may hope, or rather confidently repose in the preordinance of God, that in this last age of the world (or likely never) the time is compleat of receiving also these Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raise him an instrument to effect the same: it seeming probable by event of precedent attempts made by the Spanyards and French sundry times, that the countreys lying North of Florida, God hath reserved the same to be reduced unto Christian civility by the English nation. For not long after that Christopher Columbus had discovered the Islands and continent of the West Indies for Spaine, John and Sebastian Cabot made discovery also of the rest from Florida Northwards to the behoofe of England.

Probably conjectures y^t these lands North of Florida, are reserved for the English nation to possesse.

And whensoever afterwards the Spanyards (very prosperous in all their Southerne discoveries) did attempt any thing into Florida and those regions inclining towards the North, they proved most unhappy, and were at length discouraged utterly by the hard and lamentable successe of many both religious and valiant in armes, endeavouring to bring those Northerly regions also under the Spanish jurisdiction; as if God had prescribed limits unto the Spanish Nation which they might not exceed: as by their owne gests recorded may be aptly gathered.

The Spanyards prosperous in the Southerne discoveries, yet unhappy in these Northerne.

The French, as they can pretend lesse title unto these Northerne parts then the Spanyard, by how much the Spanyard

The French are but usurpers, upon our right.

The French also unfortunate in these North parts of America.

A good encouragement for the English nation, to proceed in the conquests of the North of America.

The due time approacheth by all likelihood of calling these heathens unto Christianity. The word of God moveth circularly.

made the first discovery of the same continent so far Northward as unto Florida, and the French did but review that before discovered by the English nation, usurping upon our right, and imposing names upon countreys, rivers, bayes, capes, or headlands, as if they had bene the first finders of those coasts; which injury we offered not unto the Spanyards, but left off to discover when we approached the Spanish limits: even so God hath not hitherto permitted them to establish a possession permanent upon anothers right, notwithstanding their manifold attempts, in which the issue hath bene no lesse tragicall then that of the Spanyards, as by their owne reports is extant.

Then seeing the English nation onely hath right unto these countreys of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the privilege of first discovery, unto which Cabot was authorised by regall authority, and set forth by the expense of our late famous king Henry the seventh: which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalfe by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withstanding the enterprises of other nations: it may greatly incourage us upon so just ground, as is our right, and upon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion (our right and intent being meet foundations for the same) to prosecute effectually the full possession of those so ample and pleasant countreys appertaining unto the crowne of England: the same (as is to be conjectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approching) being now arrived unto the time by God prescribed of their vocation, if ever their calling unto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the revolution and course of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath moved from the East, towards, & at last unto the West, where it is like to end, unlesse the same begin againe where it did in the East, which were to expect a like world againe. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophesie of Christ, whereby we gather, that after his word preached thorowout the world shalbe the end. And as the Gospel when it descended Westward began in the South, and afterward spread into the North of Europe: even so, as the same hath begonne in the South countreys of America, no lesse hope may be gathered that it will also spread into the North.

These considerations may helpe to suppress all dreads rising of hard events in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heavy successe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our countryman sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the first of our nation that caried people to erect an habitation and government in those Northerly countreys of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leave unto God, and judge charitably both of the cause (which was just in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deserving honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expense of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neverthesse, least any man should be dismayd by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as my selfe was an eye witnesse, to deliver the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so unfortunately incumbred with wants, and woorse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare judgement and regiment premeditated for those affaires, was subjected to tolerate abuses, & in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to uphold credit, then likely in his owne conceit happily to succeed.

The issue of such actions, being alwayes miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition (being the first attempt by our nation to plant) unto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter not to be discouraged from it: but to make men well advised how they handle his so high and excellent matters, as the cariage is of his word into those very mighty and vast countreys. An action doubtlesse not to be intermedled with base purposes; as many have made the same but a colour to shadow actions otherwise scarce justifiable: which doth excite Gods heavy judgements in the end, to the terrifying of weake mindes from the cause, without pondering his just proceedings: and doth also incense forren princes against our attempts how just soever, who can not but deeme the sequele very dangerous unto

The planting of Gods word must be handled with reverence. Ill actions coloured by pretence of planting upon remote lands.

their state (if in those parts we should grow to strength) seeing the very beginnings are entred with spoile.

And with this admonition denounced upon zeale towards Gods cause, also towards those in whom appeareth disposition honourable unto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of America (unto whom I wish all happinesse) I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage undertaken with sir Humfrey Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended adversely.

*The first
and great
prepara-
tion of sir
Humfrey
Gilbert.*

When first Sir Humfrey Gilbert undertooke the Western discovery of America, and had procured from her Majesty a very large commission to inhabit & possesse at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many privileges, such as in his discretion he might demand, very many gentlemen of good estimation drew unto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow unto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by sea: neverthelesse, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, their dispositions were divers, which bred a jarre, and made a division in the end, to the confusion of that attempt even before the same was begun. And when the shipping was in a maner prepared, & men ready upon the coast to go aboard: at that time some brake consort, and followed courses degenerating from the voyage before pretended: Others failed of their promises contracted, and the greater number were dispersed, leaving the Generall with few of his assured friends, with whom he adventured to sea: where having tasted of no lesse misfortune, he was shortly driven to retire home with the losse of a tall ship, and (more to his griefe) of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.

*A con-
stant re-
solution
of sir
Humfrey
Gilbert.*

Having buried onely in a preparation a great masse of substance, wherby his estate was impaired, his minde yet not dismayd, he continued his former designment & purpose to revive this enterprise, good occasion serving. Upon which determination standing long, without meanes to satisfy his desire; at last he granted certaine assignments out of his commission to sundry persons of meane ability, desiring the privilege of his

grant, to plant & fortifie in the North parts of America about the river of Canada, to whom if God gave good successe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected) the same (he thought) would greatly advance the hope of the South, & be a furtherance unto his determination that way. And the worst that might happen in that course might be excused without prejudice unto him by the former supposition, that those North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a possession taken in any parcell of those heathen countreys, by vertue of his grant, did invest him of territories extending every way two hundred leagues: which induced sir Humfrey Gilbert to make those assignments, desiring greatly their expedition, because his commission did expire after six yeres, if in that space he had not gotten actual possession.

Time went away without any thing done by his assignes: insomuch that at last he must resolve himselfe to take a voyage in person, for more assurance to keepe his patent in force, which then almost was expired, or within two yeres.

*A second
preparation
of sir
Humfrey
Gilbert.*

In furtherance of his determination, amongst others, sir George Peckham knight shewed himselfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding him both by his advice & in the charge. Other gentlemen to their ability joyned unto him, resolving to adventure their substance & lives in the same cause. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of shipping, munition, victual, men, and things requisit, some of them continued the charge two yeres compleat without intermission. Such were the difficulties and crosse accidents opposing these proceedings, which tooke not end in lesse then two yeres: many of which circumstances I will omit.

The last place of our assembly, before we left the coast of England, was in Causet bay neere unto Plimmouth: then resolved to put unto the sea with shipping and provision, such as we had, before our store yet remaining, but chiefly the time and season of the yeere, were too farre spent. Neverthelesse it seemed first very doubtfull by what way to shape our course, and to begin our intended discovery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward. The first, that is, beginning South, without all controversie was the likeliest,

*Consultation
about
our course.*

wherein we were assured to have commodity of the current, which from the cape of Florida setteth Northward, and would have furthered greatly our navigation, discovering from the foresayd cape along towards cape Briton, and all those lands lying to the North.

Commodities in discovering from South Northward.

Also the yere being farre spent, and arrived to the moneth of June, we were not to spend time in Northerly courses, where we should be surprised with timely Winter, but to covet the south, which we had space enough then to have attained; and there might with lesse detriment have wintred that season, being more milde and short in the South then in the North where winter is both long and rigorous.

These and other like reasons alleged in favour of the Southerne course first to be taken, to the contrary was inferred: that forasmuch as both our victuals, and many other needfull provisions were diminished and left insufficient for so long a voyage, and for the wintering of so many men, we ought to shape a course most likely to minister supply: and that was to take the Newfoundland in our way, which was but seven hundred leagues from our English coast. Where being usually at that time of the yere, and untill the fine of August, a multitude of ships repairing thither for fish, we should be relieved abundantly with many necessaries, which after the fishing ended, they might well spare, and freely impart unto us.

Not staying long upon that Newland coast, we might proceed Southward, and follow still the Sunne, untill we arrived at places more temperate to our content.

Cause why we began our discovery from the North. Incommodities in beginning North.

By which reasons we were the rather induced to follow this Northerly course, obeying unto necessity, which must be supplied. Otherwise, we doubted that sudden approach of Winter, bringing with it continuall fogge, and thicke mists, tempest and rage of weather; also contrariety of currents descending from the cape of Florida unto cape Briton and cape Rase, would fall out to be great and irresistable impediments unto our further proceeding for that yeere, and compell us to Winter in those North and colde regions.

Wherefore suppressing all objections to the contrary, we resolved to begin our course Northward, and to follow directly as

we might, the trade way unto Newfoundland: from whence after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay (by Gods permission) to proceed into the South, not omitting any river or bay which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view worthy of search. Immediately we agreed upon the maner of our course and orders to be observed in our voyage; which were delivered in writing unto the captaines and masters of every ship a copy in maner following.

Every shippe had delivered two bullets or scrowles, the one sealed up in waxe, the other left open: in both which were included severall watch-words. That open, serving upon our owne coast or the coast of Ireland: the other sealed, was promised on all hands not to be broken up untill we should be cleere of the Irish coast; which from thencefoorth did serve untill we arrived and met altogether in such harbors of the Newfoundland as were agreed for our Rendez vous. The sayd watch words, being requisite to know our consorts whensoever by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet dispersed should come together againe; or one should hale another; or if by ill watch and steerage one ship should chance to fall aboard of another in the darke.

The reason of the bullet sealed was to keepe secret that watch-word while we were upon our owne coast, lest any of the company stealing from the fleet might bewray the same: which knowen to an enemy, he might boord us by night without mistrust, having our owne watch-word.

Orders agreed upon by the Captaines and Masters to be observed by the fleet of Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

First the Admirall to cary his flag by day, and his light by night.

2 Item, if the Admirall shall shorten his saile by night, then to shew two lights untill he be answered againe by every ship shewing one light for a short time.

3 Item, if the Admirall after his shortening of saile, as aforesayd, shall make more saile againe: then he to shew three lights one above another.

4 Item, if the Admirall shall happen to hull in the night, then to make a wavering light over his other light, wavering the light upon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered by weather, or other mishap, then so soone as one shall descry another, to hoise both toppe sailes twise, if the weather will serve, and to strike them twise againe; but if the weather serve not, then to hoise the maine top saile twise, and forthwith to strike it twise againe.

6 Item, if it shall happen a great fogge to fall, then presently every shippe to beare up with the admirall, if there be winde: but if it be a calme, then every ship to hull, and so to lie at hull till it be cleere. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to shoot off two pieces every evening, and every ship to answere it with one shot: and every man bearing to the ship, that is to leeward so neere as he may.

7 Item, every master to give charge unto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboard one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, every evening every ship to haile the admirall, and so to fall aterne him, sailing thorow the Ocean: and being on the coast, every ship to haile him both morning and evening.

9 Item, if any ship be in danger any way, by leake or otherwise, then she to shoot off a piece, and presently to hang out one light, whereupon every man to beare towards her, answering her with one light for a short time, and so to put it out againe; thereby to give knowledge that they have seene her token.

10 Item, whensoever the Admirall shall hang out her ensigne in the maine shrowds, then every man to come aboard her, as a token of counsell.

11 Item, if there happen any storme or contrary winde to the fleet after the discovery, whereby they are separated: then every ship to repaire unto their last good port, there to meet againe.

Our course agreed upon.

The course first to be taken for the discovery is to beare directly to cape Rase, the most Southerly cape of Newfoundland; and there to harbour our selves either in Rogneux or Fermous, being the first places appointed for our Rendez vous, and the next harbours unto the Northward of cape Rase: and therefore every ship separated from the fleet to repaire to that

place so fast as God shall permit, whether you shall fall to the Southward or to the Northward of it, and there to stay for the meeting of the whole fleet the space of ten dayes: and when you shall depart, to leave marks.

A direction of our course unto the Newfound land.

Beginning our course from Silley, the neerest is by West-southwest (if the winde serve) untill such time as we have brought our selves in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, because the Ocean is subject much to Southerly windes in June and July. Then to take traverse from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windes: and not to go to the Northward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrionall latitude by no meanes: if god shall not inforce the contrary; but to do your indeavour to keepe in the height of 46 degrees, so nere as you can possibly, because cape Rase lieth about that height.

Notes.

If by contrary windes we be driven backe upon the coast of England, then to repaire unto Silley for a place of our assembly or meeting.

If we be driven backe by contrary winds that we can not passe the coast of Ireland, then the place of our assembly to be at Beare haven or Baltimore haven.

If we shall not happen to meete at cape Rase, then the place of Rendez vous to be at cape Briton, or the neerest harbour unto the Westward of cape Briton.

If by meanes of other shipping we may not safely stay there, then to rest at the very next safe port to the Westward; every ship leaving their marks behinde them for the more certainty of the after commers to know where to finde them.

The marks that every man ought to leave in such a case, were of the Generals private device written by himselfe, sealed also in close waxe, and delivered unto every shippe one scroule, which was not to be opened untill occasion required, whereby every man was certified what to leave for instruction of after commers: that every of us comming into any harbour or river might know who had bene there, or whether any were still there up higher into the river, or departed, and which way.

*Beginning
of the
voyage.*

Orders thus determined, and promises mutually given to be observed, every man withdrew himself unto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our shippes under saile, having a soft gale of winde, we began our voyage upon Tuesday the eleventh day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1583, having in our fleet (at our departure from Causet bay) these shippes, whose names and burthens, with the names of the captaines and masters of them, I have also inserted, as followeth:

1 The Delight aliàs The George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her and part owner, and Richard Clearke master.

2 The Barke Raleigh set forth by M. Walter Raleigh, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Davis, of Bristoll master.

3 The Golden hinde, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare admirall: in which went Edward Hayes captaine and owner, and William Cox of Limehouse master.

4 The Swallow, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was captaine Maurice Browne.

5 The Squirrill, of burthen 10 tunnes: in which went captaine William Andrewes, and one Cade master.

*Our fleet
consisted
of five
sailes, in
which we
had about
260 men.*

*Provisions
fit for
such dis-
coveries.*

We were in number in all about 260 men: among whom we had of every faculty good choice, as Shipwrights, Masons, Carpenters, Smithes, and such like, requisite to such an action: also Minerall men and Refiners. Besides for solace of our people, and allurement of the Savages, we were provided of Musike in good variety: not omitting the least toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horsse, and Maylike conceits to delight the Savage people, whom we intended to winne by all faire meanes possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdasherie wares to barter with those simple people.

June 11.

In this maner we set forward, departing (as hath bene said) out of Causon bay the eleventh day of June being Tuesday, the weather and winde faire and good all day, but a great storme of thunder and winde fell the same night.

June 13.

Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the evening (according to the order before specified) they signified unto us out of the Vizadmirall, that both the Captaine, and very

Observe.

many of the men were fallen sicke. And about midnight the Vizeadmirall forsooke us, notwithstanding we had the winde East, faire and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious sicknesse, and arrived greatly distressed at Plimmoth: the reason I could never understand. Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner Master Raleigh in setting them forth: Therefore I leave it unto God.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieved with the losse of the most puissant ship in our fleete: after whose departure, the Golden Hind succeeded in the place of Vizadmirall, and remooved her flagge from the mizon unto the foretop.

From Saturday the 15 of June untill the 28, which was upon a Friday, we never had faire day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the West northwest, whereby we were driven Southward unto 41 degrees scarse. *June 15.*

About this time of the yere the winds are commonly West towards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of West to the South or to the North, whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after June, which in March, Apriell & May, hath bene performed out of England in 22 dayes and lesse. We had winde alwayes so scant from West northwest, and from West southwest againe, that our traverse was great, running South unto 41 degrees almost, and afterward North into 51 degrees.

Also we were incombred with much fogge and mists in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe so well together, but were dissevered, losing the companie of the Swallow and the Squirrill upon the 20. day of July, whom we met againe at severall places upon the Newfound land coast the third of August, as shalbe declared in place convenient. *July 20. Great fogges upon the Ocean sea Northward.*

Saturday the 27 of July, we might descry not farre from us, as it were mountaines of yce driven upon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were caried Southward to the weather of us: whereby may be conjectured that some current doth set that way from the North. *July 27.*

Before we come to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this side, we passe the banke, which are high grounds rising within

*The banke
in length
unknownen,
stretcheth
from
North
into South,
in bredth
10.
leagues,
in depth
of water
upon it 30.
fadome.
A great
fishing
upon ye
banke.*

the sea and under water, yet deepe enough and without danger, being commonly not lesse then 25 and 30 fadome water upon them: the same (as it were some vaine of mountaines within the sea) doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, beginning Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, & do extend into the South infinitely. The bredth of this banke is somewhere more and somewhere lesse: but we found the same about 10 leagues over, having sounded both on this side thereof, and the other toward Newfound land, but found no ground with almost 200 fadome of line, both before & after we had passed the banke. The Portugals, and French chiefly, have a notable trade of fishing upon this banke, where are sometimes an hundred or more sailes of ships: who commonly beginne the fishing in Apriell, and have ended by July. That fish is large, alwayes wet, having no land neere to drie, and is called Corre fish.

*Abund-
ance of
foules.*

During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is upon the banke, by the incredible multitude of sea foule hovering over the same, to pray upon the offalles & garbish of fish throwen out by fishermen, and floting upon the sea.

*July 30.
First sight
of land.*

Upon Tuesday the 11 of June, we forsooke the coast of England. So againe Tuesday the 30 of July (seven weekes after) we got sight of land, being immediately embayed in the Grand bay, or some other great bay: the certainty whereof we could not judge, so great hase and fogge did hang upon the coast, as neither we might discerne the land well, nor take the sunnes height. But by our best computation we were then in the 51 degrees of latitude.

Forsaking this bay and uncomfortable coast (nothing appearing unto us but hideous rockes and mountaines, bare of trees, and voide of any greene herbe) we followed the coast to the South, with weather faire and cleare.

*Iland and
a foule
named
Penguin.*

We had sight of an Iland named Penguin, of a foule there breeding in abundance, almost incredible, which cannot flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much lesse then a goose) and exceeding fat: which the French men use to take without difficulty upon that Iland, and to barrell them up with salt. But for lingering of time we had made us there the like provision.

Trending this coast, we came to the Iland called Baccalaos, being not past two leagues from the maine: to the South therof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5. leagues distant from Baccalaos, between which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar sort called the bay of Conception. Here we met with the Swallow againe, whom we had lost in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: wherof it seemed their store was so amended, that for joy and congratulation of our meeting, they spared not to cast up into the aire and overboard, their caps & hats in good plenty. The Captaine albeit himselfe was very honest and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and desert: who for the most were such as had bene by us surprised upon the narrow seas of England, being pirats and had taken at that instant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with salt. Both which we rescued, & tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the same ship now called the Swallow, following still their kind so oft, as (being separated from the Generall) they found opportunitie to robbe and spoile. And because Gods justice did follow the same company, even to destruction, and to the overthrow also of the Captaine (though not consenting to their misdemeanor) I will not conceale any thing that maketh to the manifestation and approbation of his judgements, for examples of others, perswaded that God more sharply tooke revenge upon them, and hath tolerated longer as great outrage in others: by how much these went under protection of his cause and religion, which was then pretended.

*An Iland
called
Baccalaos,
the fish
taken
there.*

Therefore upon further enquiry it was knowen, how this company met with a barke returning home after the fishing with his freight: and because the men in the Swallow were very neere scanted of victuall, and chiefly of apparell, doubtful withall where or when to find and meete with their Admiral, they besought the captaine they might go aboard this Newlander, only to borrow what might be spared, the rather because the same was bound homeward. Leave given, not without charge to deale favorably, they came aboard the fisherman, whom they rifled of tackle, sailes, cables, victuals, & the men of their apparell: not sparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to draw out else what they thought good. This done with ex-

*Misde-
meanor of
them in the
Swallow.*

pedition (like men skilfull in such mischief) as they tooke their cocke boate to go aboard their own ship, it was overwhelmed in the sea, and certaine of these men there drowned: the rest were preserved even by those silly soules whom they had before spoyled, who saved and delivered them aboard the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps destitute of sayles and furniture sufficient to carry them home (whither they had not lesse to runne then 700 leagues) God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the rest that escaped at this instant: to reveale the fact, and justifie to the world Gods judgements inflicted upon them, as shalbe declared in place convenient.

English ships are the strongest and Admirals of other fleetes, fishing upon the South parts of Newfoundland.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our course Southward, untill we came against the harbor called S. John, about 5 leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found also the Frigate or Squirrill lying at anker. Whom the English marchants (that were & alwaies be Admirals by turnes interchangeably over the fleetes of fishermen within the same harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of so happy meeting both of the Swallow and Frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of August) we made readie our fights, & prepared to enter the harbor, any resistance to the contrarie notwithstanding, there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 sailes. But first the Generall dispatched a boat to give them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, having Commission from her Majestie for his voiage he had in hand. And immediatly we followed with a slacke gale, and in the very entrance (which is but narrow, not above 2 butts length) the Admirall fell upon a rocke on the larboord side by great oversight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke muche above water fast by the shore, where neither went any sea gate. But we found such readinesse in the English Marchants to helpe us in that danger, that without delay there were brought a number of boates, which towed off the ship, and cleared her of danger.

Having taken place convenient in the road, we let fall ankers, the Captaines and Masters repairing aboard our Admirall: whither also came immediatly the Masters and owners of the

fishing fleete of Englishmen, to understand the Generals intent and cause of our arrivall there. They were all satisfied when the General had shewed his commission, and purpose to take possession of those lands to the behalfe of the crowne of England, and the advancement of Christian religion in those Paganish regions, requiring but their lawfull ayde for repaying of his fleete, and supply of some necessaries, so farre as conveniently might be afforded him, both out of that and other harbors adjoyning. In lieu whereof, he made offer to gratifie them, with any favour and priviledge, which upon their better advise they should demand, the like being not to bee obteyned hereafter for greater price. So craving expedition of his demand, minding to proceede further South without long detention in those partes, he dismissed them, after promise given of their best indeavour to satisfie speedily his so reasonable request. The marchants with their Masters departed, they caused foorthwith to be discharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

It was further determined that every ship of our fleete should deliver unto the marchants and Masters of that harbour a note of all their wants: which done, the ships aswell English as strangers, were taxed at an easie rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne companie and part of theirs, to go into other harbours adjoyning (for our English marchants command all there) to leavie our provision: whereunto the Portugals (above other nations) did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as we were presented (above our allowance) with wines, marmalads, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, trouts, lobsters and other fresh fish brought daily unto us. Moreover as the maner is in their fishing, every weeke to choose their Admirall a new, or rather they succeede in orderly course, and have weekly their Admirals feast solemnized: even so the General, Captaines and masters of our fleete were continually invited and feasted. To grow short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightfull, but after our wants and tedious passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater

Good order taken by English marchants for our supply in Newfound land.

Good entertainment in Newfound land. No

*Savages in
the South
part of
Newfound
land.*

contentation, by how much the same was unexpected in that desolate corner of the world: where at other times of the yeare, wilde beasts and birds have only the fruition of all those countries, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

August 4.

The next morning being Sunday and the 4 of August, the Generall and his company were brought on land by English marchants, who shewed unto us their accustomed walks unto a place they call the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe without art: who confusedly hath brought forth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plentie of raspis berries, which doe grow in every place.

August 5.

Munday following, the General had his tent set up, who being accompanied with his own followers, sommoned the marchants and masters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countries. Before whom openly was read & interpreted unto the strangers his Commission: by vertue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of S. John, and 200 leagues every way, invested the Queenes Majestie with the title and dignitie thereof, had delivered unto him (after the custome of England) a rod & a turffe of the same soile, entring possession also for him, his heires and assignes for ever: And signified unto al men, that from that time forward, they should take the same land as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe authorised under her Majestie to possesse and enjoy it. And to ordaine lawes for the governement thereof, agreeable (so neere as conveniently might be) unto the lawes of England: under which all people comming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, should be subjected and governed. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he proposed & delivered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That is to say: the first for Religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Majesties right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted prejudiciall, the partie or parties offending should be adjudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any person should utter words

*Possession
taken.*

*Three
Lawes.*

sounding to the dishonour of her Majestie, he should loose his eares, and have his ship and goods confiscate.

These contents published, obedience was promised by generall voyce and consent of the multitude aswell of Englishmen as strangers, praying for continuance of this possession and governement begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingraven in lead, and infixed upon a pillar of wood. Yet further and actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Majestie, and to the behoofe of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assignes for ever: the Generall granted in fee farme divers parcells of land lying by the water side, both in this harbor of S. John, and elsewhere, which was to the owners a great commoditie, being thereby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds convenient to dresse and to drie their fish, wherof many times before they did faile, being prevented by them that came first into the harbor. For which grounds they did covenant to pay a certaine rent and service unto sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for ever, and yeerely to maintaine possession of the same, by themselves or their assignes.

*Actual
possession
main-
tained in
New-
found-
land.*

Now remained only to take in provision granted, according as every shippe was taxed, which did fish upon the coast adjoining. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men unto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering together our supply and provisions: others to search the commodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea or land, and to make relation unto the Generall what eyther themselves could knowe by their owne travaile and experience, or by good intelligence of English men or strangers, who had longest frequented the same coast. Also some observed the elevation of the pole, and drewe plats of the countrey exactly graded. And by that I could gather by each mans severall relation, I have drawn a briefe description of the Newfound land, with the commodities by sea or lande alreadie made, and such also as are in possibilitie and great likelihood to be made: Neverthesse the Cardes and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, and capes, did perish with

*Men
appointed
to make
search.*

the Admirall: wherefore in the description following, I must omit the particulars of such things.

A brief relation of the New found lande, and
the commodities thereof.

*New
found
land is all
Islands or
broken
lands.*

That which we doe call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of some) it consisteth of sundry Ilands and broken lands, situate in the North regions of America, upon the gulfes and entrance of the great river called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, navigation may be made both on the South and North side of this Iland. The land lyeth South and North, containing in length betweene three & 400 miles, accounting from cape Race (which is in 46 degrees 25 minuts) unto the Grand bay in 52 degrees of Septentrionall latitude. The Iland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, safe roads for ships, the like not to be found in any part of the knowen world.

*Goodly
roads and
harbours.*

*New
found
land is
habitable.*

The common opinion that is had of intemperature & extreme cold that should be in this countrey, as of some part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more colde then in countries of Europe, which are under the same elevation: even so it cannot stand with reason and nature of the clime, that the South parts should be so intemperate as the brute hath gone. For as the same doe lie under the climate of Briton, Anjou, Poictou in France, betweene 46 and 49 degrees, so can they not so much differ from the temperature of those countries: unlesse upon the outcoast lying open unto the Ocean and sharpe windes, it must in deede be subject to more colde, then further within the land, where the mountaines are interposed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defend and to resist the asperitie and rigor of the sea and weather. Some hold opinion, that the Newfound land might be the more subject to cold, by how much it lyeth high and neere unto the middle region. I grant that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany, Italy and Afrike, even under the Equinoctiall line, the mountaines are extreme cold, and seeldome uncovered of snow, in their culme and highest tops, which commeth to passe by the same reason that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countries lying beneth them,

it is found quite contrary. Even so all hills having their discents, the valleis also and low grounds must be likewise hot or temperate, as the clime doeth give in Newfound land: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be so forcible in the Newfound land, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Afrike: by how much the Sunne in his diurnall course from East to West, passeth over (for the most part) dry land and sandy countries, before he arriveth at the West of Europe or Afrike, whereby his motion increaseth heate, with little or no qualification by moyst vapours. Where, on the contrarie he passeth from Europe and Afrike unto America over the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance of moyst vapours, which doe qualifie and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reverberation upon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being so much to the Northward. Neverthelesse (as I sayd before) the cold cannot be so intollerable under the latitude of 46 47 and 48 (especiall within land) that it should be uninhabitable, as some doe suppose, seeing also there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in these South parts there be certaine beastes, Ounces or Leopards, and birdes in like maner which in the Sommer we have seene, not heard of in countries of extreme and vehement coldnesse. Besides, as in the monethes of June, July, August and September, the heate is somewhat more then in England at those seasons: so men remaining upon the South parts neere unto Cape Rece, untill after Hollandtide, have not found the cold so extreme, nor much differing from the temperature of England. Those which have arrived there after November and December, have found the snow exceeding deepe, whereat no marvaile, considering the ground upon the coast, is rough and uneven, and the snow is driven into the places most declyning as the like is to be seene with us. The like depth of snow happily shall not be found within land upon the playner countries, which also are defended by the mountaines, breaking off the violence of winds and weather. But admitting extraordinary cold in those South parts, above that with us here: it can not be so great as in Swedland, much lesse in Moscovia or Russia: yet are the same countries very populous, and the rigor of cold is dispensed with by the

*Cold by
accidental
meanes.*

Commodities.

commoditie of Stoves, warme clothing, meats and drinckes: all which neede not to be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to inhabite.

*Fish of sea
and fresh
water.*

In the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelihood have abandoned those coastes, the same being so much frequented by Christians: But in the North are savages altogether harmelesse. Touching the commodities of this countrey, serving either for sustentation of inhabitants, or for maintenance of traffique, there are & may be made divers: so y^t it seemeth Nature hath recompenced that only defect and incommoditie of some sharpe cold, by many benefits: viz. With incredible quantitie, and no lesse varietie of kindes of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as Trouts, Salmones and other fish to us unknowne: Also Cod, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world. Abundance of Whales, for which also is a very great trade in the bayes of Placentia & the Grand bay, where is made Traine oiles of the Whale: Herring the largest that have bene heard of, and exceeding the Malstrond herring of Norway: but hitherto was never benefit taken of the herring fishing. There are sundry other fish very delicate, namely the Bonito, Lobsters, Turbut, with others infinite not sought after: Oysters having pearle but not orient in colour: I tooke it by reason they were not gathered in season.

Concerning the inland commodities, aswel to be drawn from this land, as from the exceeding large countries adjoyning: there is nothing which our East and Northerly countries of Europe doe yeelde, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully by time and industrie: Namely, rosen, pitch, tarre, sopeashes, dealboord, mastes for ships, hides, furies, flaxe, hempe, corne, cables, cordage, linnen-cloth, mettals and many more. All which the countries will aford, and soyle is apt to yeelde.

The trees for the most in those South parts, are Firre-trees, pine and Cypresse, all yeelding Gumme and Turpentine.

Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger than a small pease. Also peare trees, but fruitlesse. Other trees of some sorts to us unknowne.

The soyle along the coast is not deepe of earth, bringing forth abundantly peason small, yet good feeding for cattel.

Roses passing sweet, like unto our muske roses in forme, raspases, a berry which we call Hurts, good and wholesome to eat. The grasse and herbe doth fat sheepe in very short space, proved by English merchants which have caried sheepe thither for fresh victuall and had them raised exceeding fat in lesse then three weekes. Peason which our countrey men have sown in the time of May have come up faire, and bene gathered in the beginning of August, of which our Generall had a present acceptable for the rarenesse, being the first fruits comming up by art and industrie in that desolate and dishabited land.

Lakes or pooles of fresh water, both on the tops of mountaines and in the vallies. In which are said to be muskles not unlike to have pearle, which I had put in triall, if by mischance falling unto me, I had bene letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

Foule both of water and land in great plentie and diversitie. All kind of greene foule: Others as bigge as Bustards, yet not the same. A great white foule called of some a Gaunt.

Upon the land divers sorts of haukes, as faulcons, and others by report: Partridges most plentiful larger then ours, gray and white of colour, and rough footed like doves, which our men after one flight did kill with cudgels, they were so fat and unable to flie. Birds some like blackbirds, linnets, canary birds, and other very small. Beasts of sundry kindes, red deare, buffles or a beast, as it seemeth by the tract & foote very large in maner of an oxe. Beares, ounces or leopards, some greater & some lesser, wolves, foxes, which to the Northward a little further are black, whose furre is esteemed in some Countries of Europe very rich. Otters, bevers, marternes: And in the opinion of most men that saw it, the Generall had brought unto him a Sable alive, which he sent unto his brother sir John Gilbert knight of Devonshire: but it was never delivered, as after I understood. We could not observe the hundreth part of creatures in those unhabited lands: but these mentioned may induce us to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly replenished the earth with creatures serving for the use of man, though man hath not used a fift part of the same, which the more doth aggravate the fault and foolish slouth in many of our nation, chusing rather to live

*Newfound
land doth
minister
commodi-
ties abund-
antly for
art & in-
dustrie.*

indirectly, and very miserably to live & die within this realme pestered with inhabitants, then to adventure as becommeth men, to obtaine an habitation in those remote lands, in which Nature very prodigally doth minister unto mens endeavours, and for art to worke upon.

For besides these already recounted and infinite moe, the mountaines generally make shew of minerall substance: Iron very common, lead, and somewhere copper. I will not averre of richer mettals: albeit by the circumstances following, more then hope may be conceived thereof.

*Silver Ore
brought
unto the
Generall.*

For amongst other charges given to inquire out the singularities of this countrey, the Generall was most curious in the search of mettals, commanding the minerall man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon borne, honest and religious, named Daniel. Who after search brought at first some sort of Ore, seeming rather to be yron then other mettall. The next time he found Ore, which with no small shew of contentment he delivered unto the General, using protestation, that if silver were the thing which might satisfie the Generall & his followers, there it was, advising him to seeke no further: the perill whereof he undertooke upon his life (as deare unto him as the Crowne of England unto her Majestie, that I may use his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly.

*Reasons
why no
further
search was
made for
the silver
mine.*

My selfe at this instant liker to die then to live, by a mischance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne satisfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to have some part of the Ore, he replied: Content your selfe, I have seene ynough, and were it but to satisfie my private humor, I would proceede no further. The promise unto my friends, and necessitie to bring also the South countries within compass of my Patent neere expired, as we have already done these North parts, do only perswade me further. And touching the Ore, I have sent it aboard, whereof I would have no speech to be made so long as we remaine within harbor: here being both Portugals, Biscains and Frenchmen not farre off, from whom must be kept any bruit or muttering of such matter. When we are at sea prooffe shalbe made: if it be to our desire, we may returne the sooner hither againe. Whose answer

I judged reasonable, and contenting me well: wherewith I will conclude this narration and description of the Newfound land, and proceede to the rest of our voyage, which ended tragically.

While the better sort of us were seriously occupied in repairing our wants, and contriving of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of another sort & disposition were plotting of mischief. Some casting to steale away our shipping by night, watching oportunitie by the Generals and Captaines lying on the shore: whose conspiracies discovered, they were prevented. Others drew together in company, and caried away out of the barbors adjoyning, a ship laden with fish, setting the poore men on shore. A great many more of our people stole into the woods to hide themselves, attending time and meanes to reture home by such shipping as daily departed from the coast. Some were sicke of fluxes, and many dead: and in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminished, and many by the Generall licensed to returne home. Insomuch as after we had reviewed our people, resolved to see an end of our voyage, we grewe scant of men to furnish all our shipping: it seemed good therefore unto the Generall to leave the Swallowe with such provision as might be spared for transporting home the sicke people.

*Misde-
meanor
in our
companie.*

The Captaine of the Delight or Admirall returned into England, in whose stead was appointed Captaine Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallow: who also brought with him into the Delight all his men of the Swallow, which before have bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed upon fishermen there met at sea.

*God
brought
together
these men
into the
ship
ordained
to perish,
who before
had com-
mitted
such
outrage.
Why sir
Humf.
Gilbert
went in the
Frigate.*

The Generall made choise to goe in his frigate the Squirrel (whereof the Captaine also was amongst them that returned into England) the same Frigate being most convenient to discover upon the coast, and to search into every harbor or creeke, which a great ship could not doe. Therefore the Frigate was prepared with her nettings & fights, and overcharged with bases and such small Ordinance, more to give a shew, then with judgement to foresee unto the safetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occasion also of their overthrow.

Now having made readie our shipping, that is to say, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboard our

*Liberalitie
of the Por-
tugals.*

provision, which was wines, broad or ruske, fish wette and drie, sweete oiles: besides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrelled, and such like: Also we had other necessary provisions for trimming our ships, nets and lines to fish withall, boates or pinnesses fit for discovery. In briefe, we were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had bene in a Countrey or some Citie populous and plentifull of all things.

*August
20. S.
Johns in
47 deg. 40
min.*

We departed from this harbour of S. Johns upon Tuesday the twentieth of August, which we found by exact observation to be in 47 degrees 40 minutes. And the next day by night we were at Cape Race, 25 leagues from the same harborough.

*Cape Race
in 46 de-
grees 25
minutes.*

This Cape lyeth South Southwest from S. Johns: it is a low land, being off from the Cape about halfe a league: within the sea riseth up a rocke against the point of the Cape, which thereby is easily known: It is in latitude 46 degrees 25 minutes.

*Fish large
and plen-
tiful.*

Under this Cape we were becalmed a small time, during which we layd out hookes and lines to take Codde, and drew in lesse than two houres, fish so large and in such abundance, that many dayes after we fed upon no other provision.

*Cattel in
the Isle of
Sablon.*

From hence we shaped our course unto the Island of Sablon, if conveniently it would so fall out, also directly to Cape Briton.

Sablon lieth to the sea-ward of Cape Briton about 25 leagues, whither we were determined to goe upon intelligence we had of a Portugal, (during our abode in S. Johns) who was himselfe present, when the Portugals (above thirty yeares past) did put into the same Island both Neat and Swine to breede, which were since exceedingly multiplied. This seemed unto us very happy tidings, to have in an Island lying so neere unto the maine, which we intended to plant upon, such store of cattell, whereby we might at all times conveniently be relieved of victuall, and served of store for breed.

*Good
soile.*

In this course we trended along the coast, which from Cape Race stretcheth into the Northwest, making a bay which some called Trespassa. Then it goeth out againe toward the West, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lieth in maner East and West. But this point inclineth to the North: to the West of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We sent men on land to take view of the soyle along this coast, whereof they made good

report, and some of them had wil to be planted there. They saw Pease growing in great abundance every where.

The distance betweene Cape Race and Cape Briton is 87 leagues. In which Navigation we spent 8 dayes, having many times the wind indifferent good: yet could we never attaine sight of any land all that time, seeing we were hindred by the current. At last we fell into such flats and dangers, that hardly any of us escaped: where neverthelesse we lost our Admiral with al the men and provision, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of skill to make conjecture, by our course and way we held from Cape Race thither (that thereby the flats and dangers may be inserted in sea Cards, for warning to others that may follow the same course hereafter) I have set downe the best reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Cox Master of the Hind, and John Paul his mate, both of Limehouse.

Reckonings kept in our course from Cape Race towards Cape Briton, and the Island of Sablon, to the time and place where we lost our Admirall.

| | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| August 22. | West, | 14. leagues. |
| | West and by South, | 25. |
| | Westnorthwest, | 25. |
| | Westnorthwest, | 9. |
| | Southsouthwest, | 10. |
| | Southwest, | 12. |
| | Southsouthwest, | 10. |
| August 29. | Westnorthwest. | 12. Here we lost our Admiral. |
| Summe of these leagues, 117. | | |

The reckoning of John Paul Masters mate from Cape Race.

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| August 22. | West, | 14 leagues. |
| 23 | Northwest and by West, | 9. |
| 24 | Southwest and by South, | 5. |
| 25 | West and by South, | 40. |
| 26 | West and by North, | 7. |
| 27 | Southwest, | 3. |
| 28 | Southwest, | 9. |
| | Southwest, | 7. |
| | Westsouthwest, | 7. |
| 29 | Northwest and by West, | 20. Here we lost our Admirall. |
| Summe of all these leagues, 121. | | |

Our course we held in clearing us of these flats was Eastsouth-east, and Southeast, and South 14 leagues with a marvellous scant winde.

The maner how our Admirall was lost.

*August
27.*

Upon Tewdsday the 27 of August, toward the evening, our Generall caused them in his frigate to sound, who found white sande at 35 fadome, being then in latitude about 44 degrees.

Wednesday toward night the wind came South, and wee bare with the land all that night, Westnorthwest, contrary to the mind of master Cox: neverthesse wee followed the Admirall, deprived of power to prevent a mischiefe, which by no contradiction could be brought to hold other course, alleaging they could not make the ship to worke better, nor to lie otherwaies.

*Predictions
before the
wracke.*

The evening was faire and pleasant, yet not without token of storme to ensue, and most part of this Wednesday night, like the Swanne that singeth before her death, they in the Admiral, or Delight, continued in sounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: also winding the Cornets, Haughtboyes: and in the end of their jolitie, left with the battell and ringing of dolefull knels.

Towards the evening also we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mighty Porpose, with a harping yron, having first stricken divers of them, and brought away part of their flesh, sticking upon the yron, but could recover onely that one. These also passing through the Ocean, in heardes, did portend storme. I omit to recite frivolous reportes by them in the Frigate, of strange voyces, the same night, which scarred some from the helme.

*Losse of
our
Admirall.*

Thursday the 29 of August, the wind rose, and blew vehemently at South and by East, bringing withall raine, and thicke mist, so that we could not see a cable length before us. And betimes in the morning we were altogether runne and folded in amongst flats and sands, amongst which we found shoale and deepe in every three or foure shippes length, after wee began to sound: but first we were upon them unawares, untill master Cox looking out, discerned (in his judgement) white cliffes, crying (land) withall, though we could not afterward descrie any land, it being very likely the breaking of the sea white,

which seemed to be white cliffes, through the haze and thicke weather.

Immediatly tokens were given unto the Delight, to cast about to seaward, which, being the greater ship, and of burden 120 tunnes, was yet formost upon the breach, keeping so ill watch, that they knew not the danger, before they felt the same, too late to recover it: for presently the Admirall strooke a ground, and had soone after her sterne and hinder partes beaten in pieces: whereupon the rest (that is to say, the Frigat, in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde) cast about Eastsouth-east, bearing to the South, even for our lives into the windes eye, because that way caried us to the seaward. Making out from this danger, wee sounded one while seven fadome, then five fadome, then foure fadome and lesse, againe deeper, immediatly foure fadome, then but three fadome, the sea going mightily and high. At last we recovered (God be thanked) in some despaire, to sea roome enough.

In this distresse, wee had vigilant eye unto the Admirall, whom wee sawe cast away, without power to give the men succour, neither could we espie any of the men that leaped overboord to save themselves, either in the same Pinnesse or Cocke, or upon rafters, and such like meanes, presenting themselves to men in those extremities: for we desired to save the men by every possible meanes. But all in vaine, sith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beat up and downe as neere unto the wracke as was possible for us, looking out, if by good hap we might espie any of them.

This was a heavy and grievous event, to lose at one blow our chiefe shippe fraughted with great provision, gathered together with much travell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the losse of our men, which perished to the number almost of a hundreth soules. Amongst whom was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the citie of Buda, called thereof Budaeus, who of pietie and zeale to good attempts, adventured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the gests and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this discoverie, to the honour of our nation, the same being adorned with the eloquent stile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time.

*Stephanus
Parmenius
a learned
Hun-
garian.*

*Daniel a
refiner of
mettals.*

Here also perished our Saxon Refiner and Discoverer of inestimable riches, as it was left amongst some of us in undoubted hope.

No lesse heavy was the losse of the Captaine Maurice Browne, a vertuous, honest, and discreete Gentleman, overseene onely in liberty given late before to men, that ought to have bene restrained, who shewed himselfe a man resolved, and never unprepared for death, as by his last act of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that escaped this wracke miraculously, as shall bee hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recovering the ship, and that men began to give over, and to save themselves, the Captaine was advised before to shift also for his life, by the Pinnesse at the sterne of the ship: but refusing that counsell, he would not give example with the first to leave the shippe, but used all meanes to exhort his people not to despaire, nor so to leave off their labour, choosing rather to die, then to incurre infamie, by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to have perished through his default, shewing an ill president unto his men, by leaving the ship first himselfe. With this mind hee mounted upon the highest decke, where hee attended imminent death, and unavoidable: how long, I leave it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his servants at such times.

*A wonderfull
scape and
deliverance.
A great
distresse.
A desperate
resolution.*

In the meane season, certaine, to the number of foureteene persons, leaped into a small Pinnesse (the bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselves to Gods mercy, amidst the storme, and rage of sea and windes, destitute of foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh water. The boate seeming overcharged in foule weather with company, Edward Headly a valiant souldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished then all, made this motion to cast lots, and them to bee throwan overboard upon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which otherwayes seemed impossible to live, offred himselfe with the first, content to take his adventure gladly: which nevertheles Richard Clarke, that was Master of the Admirall, and one of this number, refused, advising to

abide Gods pleasure, who was able to save all, as well as a few.

The boate was caried before the wind, continuing sixe dayes and nights in the Ocean, and arrived at last with the men (alive, but weake) upon the New found land, saving that the foresayd Headly, (who had bene late sicke) and another called of us Brasile, of his travell into those Countreys, died by the way, famished, and lesse able to holde out, then those of better health. For such was these poore mens extremitie, in cold and wet, to have no better sustenance then their owne urine, for sixe dayes together. *Two men famished.*

Thus whom God delivered from drowning, hee appointed to bee famished, who doth give limits to mans times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whom againe he will preserve, neither Sea, nor famine can confound. For those that arrived upon the Newe found land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being upon that coast.

After this heavie chance, wee continued in beating the sea up and downe, expecting when the weather would cleere up, that we might yet beare in with the land, which we judged not farre off, either the continent or some Island. For we many times, and in sundry places found ground at 50, 45, 40 fadomes, and lesse. The ground comming upon our lead, being sometimes oazie sand, and otherwhile a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Our people lost courage dayly after this ill successe, the weather continuing thicke and blustering, with increase of cold, Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendement, setling an assurance of worse weather to growe upon us every day. The Leeseide of us lay full of flats and dangers inevitable, if the wind blew hard at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulfed in the Bay of S. Laurence, the coast full of dangers, and unto us unknowen. But above all, provision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone, with losse of our Admirall. *Causes in forcing us to returne home againe.*

Those in the Frigat were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: Whereupon they besought the Generall to returne for England, before they all perished. And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made signes of their distresse, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and

ragged: then immediately they also of the Golden Hinde, grew to be of the same opinion and desire to returne home.

The former reasons having also moved the Generall to have compassion of his poore men, in whom he saw no want of good will, but of meanes fit to performe the action they came for, resolved upon retire: and calling the Captaine and Master of the Hinde, he yeelded them many reasons, inforcing this unexpected returne, withall protesting himselfe, greatly satisfied with that hee had seene, and knew already.

Reiterating these words, Be content, we have seene enough and take no care of expence past: I will set you forth royally the next Spring, if God send us safe home. Therefore I pray you let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements.

Omitting circumstance, how unwillingly the Captaine & Master of the Hinde condescended to this motion, his owne company can testifie: yet comforted with the Generals promises of a speedie returne at Spring, and induced by other apparent reasons, proving an impossibilitie, to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

*August
31.*

*A monster
of the sea.*

So upon Saturday in the afternoone the 31 of August, we changed our course, and returned backe for England, at which very instant, even in winding about, there passed along betweene us and towards the land which we now forsooke a very lion to our seeming, in shape, hair and colour, not swimming after the maner of a beast by mooving of his feete, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in sight, neither yet diving under, and againe rising above the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunise, Porposes, and all other fish: but confidently shewing himselfe above water without hiding: Norwithstanding, we presented our selves in open view and gesture to amase him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonstration of long teeth, and glaring eies, and to bidde us a farewell (comming right against the Hinde) he sent forth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which spectacle wee all behelde so farre as we were able to discerne the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing,

as this doubtlesse was, to see a lion in the Ocean sea, or fish in shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the Generall himselfe, I forbear to deliver: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, rejoycing that he was to warre against such an enemie, if it were the devill.

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the sea rough, insomuch as the Frigat wherein the Generall went was almost swallowed up.

Munday in the afternoone we passed in the sight of Cape Race, having made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights backe againe, as before wee had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, unto the place where our ship perished. Which hindrance thitherward, and speed back againe, is to be imputed unto the swift current, as well as to the winds, which we had more large in our returne. *September 2.*

This munday the Generall came aboard the Hind to have the Surgeon of the Hind to dresse his foote, which he hurt by treading upon a naile: At what time we comforted ech other with hope of hard successe to be all past, and of the good to come. So agreeing to cary out lights alwayes by night, that we might keepe together, he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be intreated to tarie in the Hind, which had bene more for his security. Immediatly after followed a sharpe storme, which we overpassed for that time. Praysed be God.

The weather faire, the Generall came aboard the Hind againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Master, and company, which was the last meeting, and continued there from morning untill night. During which time there passed sundry discourses, touching affaires past, and to come, lamenting greatly the losse of his great ship, more of the men, but most of all of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which hee was out of measure grieved, the same doubtles being some matter of more importance then his bookes, which I could not draw from him: yet by circumstance I gathered, the same to be ye Ore which Daniel the Saxon had brought unto him in the New found land. Whatsoever it was, the remembrance touched him so deepe, as not able to containe himselfe, he beat his boy in great rage, even at the same time, so long after the miscarrying *Our last conference with our Generall.*
Circumstances to be well

*observed
in our
Generall,
importing
the Ore to
be of a sil-
ver mine.*

of the great ship, because upon a faire day, when wee were becalmed upon the coast of the New found land, neere unto Cape Race, he sent his boy aboard the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongst which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time he could never conveniently send againe aboard the great ship, much lesse hee doubted her ruine so neere at hand.

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diversly, and by sundry conjectures, which maketh me have the greater hope of this rich Mine. For where as the Generall had never before good conceit of these North parts of the world: now his mind was wholly fixed upon the New found land. And as before he refused not to grant assignements liberally to them that required the same into these North parts, now he became contrarily affected, refusing to make any so large grants, especially of S. Johns, which certaine English merchants made suite for, offering to imploy their money and travell upon the same: yet neither by their owne suite, nor of others of his owne company, whom he seemed willing to pleasure, it could be obtained.

Also laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for disposing of his voyage then to be reattempted: he assigned the Captaine & Master of the Golden Hind, unto the South discovery, and reserved unto himselfe the North, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the South, and that he was now become a Northerne man altogether.

Last, being demanded what means he had at his arrivall in England, to compasse the charges of so great preparation as he intended to make the next Spring: having determined upon two flettes, one for the South, another for the North: Leave that to mee (hee replied) I will aske a pennie of no man. I will bring good tidings unto her Majesty, who wil be so gracious, to lend me 10000 pounds, willing us therefore to be of good cheere: for he did thanke God (he sayd) with al his heart, for that he had seene, the same being enough for us all, and that we needed not to seeke any further. And these last words he would often repeate, with demonstration of great fervencie of mind, being himselfe very confident, and settled in beliefe of inestimable good by this voyage: which the greater number of his followers

nevertheles mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secrets, which the Generall kept unto himselfe. Yet all of them that are living, may be witnesses of his words and protestations, which sparingly I have delivered.

Leaving the issue of this good hope unto God, who knoweth the trueth only, & can at his good pleasure bring the same to light: I will hasten to the end of this tragedie, which must be knit up in the person of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance upon him, even so the vehement perswasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing avails, to divert him from a wilful resolution of going through in his Frigat, which was overcharged upon their deckes, with fights, nettings, and small artillerie, too cumbersome for so small a boate, that was to passe through the Ocean sea at that season of the yere, when by course we might expect much storme of foule weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

*Wilfulness
in the
Generall.*

But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Master, and other his well willers of the Hinde, not to venture in the Frigat, this was his answer: I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many stormes and perils. And in very trueth, hee was urged to be so over hard, by hard reports given of him, that he was afraid of the sea, albeit this was rather rashnes, then advised resolution, to preferre the wind of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life.

*A token
of a good
mind.*

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the Hinde, such as was wanting aboard his Frigat. And so we committed him to Gods protection, & set him aboard his Pinnesse, we being more then 300 leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Islands of Açores South of us, yet wee then keeping much to the North, until we had got into the height and elevation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high Pyramid wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high and low within the sea, (as we see hilles and dales upon the land) upon which the seas doe mount and fall: or else the cause proceedeth of diversitie of winds, shifting often in sundry points: al which having power to move the great Ocean, which againe is not presently settled, so many seas do

encounter together, as there had bene diversitie of windes. Howsoever it commeth to passe, men which all their life time had occupied the Sea, never saw more outrageous Seas. We had also upon our maine yard, an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen doe call Castor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an evill signe of more tempest: the same is usuall in stormes.

A resolute and Christianlike saying in a distresse. Munday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waves, yet at that time recovered: and giving foorth signes of joy, the Generall sitting abaft with a booke in his hand, cried out unto us in the Hind (so oft as we did approach within hearing) We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land. Reiterating the same speech, well be-seeming a souldier, resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testifie he was.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert drowned. The same Monday night, about twelve of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat being ahead of us in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, we lost the sight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment, the Frigat was devoured and swallowed up of the Sea. Yet still we looked out all that night, and ever after, until wee arrived upon the coast of England: Omitting no small saile at sea, unto which we gave not the tokens betweene us, agreed upon, to have perfect knowledge of each other, if we should at any time be separated.

Arrivall in England of the Golden Hinde. In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the Golden Hinde, which arrived in Falmouth, the 22 day of September, being Sondag, not without as great danger escaped in a flaw, comming from the Southeast, with such thicke mist, that we could not discerne land, to put in right with the Haven.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, & lay there at anker before the Range, while the captaine went aland, to enquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, which sayling well, might happily have bene before us. Also to certifie Sir John Gilbert, brother unto the Generall of our hard successe, whom the Captaine desired (while his men were yet aboard him, and were witnesses of all occurrents in that voyage,) It might please

him to take the examination of every person particularly, in discharge of his and their faithfull endeavour. Sir John Gilbert refused so to doe, holding himselfe satisfied with report made by the Captaine: and not altogether despairing of his brothers safetie, offered friendship and curtesie to the Captaine and his company, requiring to have his Barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was sent to helpe to tow her in.

*A fit
motion of
the Cap-
tain unto
sir
Humfrey
Gilbert.*

Nevertheless, when the Captaine returned aboard his ship, he found his men bent to depart, every man to his home: and then the winde serving to proceede higher upon the coast: they demanded money to carie them home, some to London, others to Harwich, and elsewhere, (if the barke should be caried into Dartmouth, and they discharged, so farre from home) or else to take benefite of the winde, then serving to draw nearer home, which should be a lesse charge unto the Captaine, and great ease unto the men, having els farre to goe.

Reason accompanied with necessitie perswaded the Captaine, who sent his lawfull excuse and cause of his sudden departure unto sir John Gilbert, by the boate of Dartmouth, and from thence the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. Al the men tired with the tediousnes of so unprofitable a voiage to their seeming: in which their long expence of time, much toyle and labour, hard diet and continuall hazard of life was unrecompensed: their Captaine nevertheless by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodnes of God, and his undoubted providence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies those at other times, whosoever have confidence in him alone. Yet have we more neere feeling and perseverance of his powerfull hand and protection, when God doth bring us together with others into one same peril, in which he leaveth them, and delivereth us, making us thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine.

*An ill re-
compense.*

Even so, amongst very many difficulties, discontentments, mutinies, conspiracies, sicknesses, mortalitie, spoylings, and wracks by sea, which were afflictions, more then in so small a Fleete, or so short a time may be supposed, albeit true in every particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and some I suppressed with silence for their sakes living. it

pleased God to support this company, (of which onely one man died of a maladie inveterate, and long infested): the rest kept together in reasonable contentment and concord, beginning continuing, and ending the voyage, which none els did accomplish, either not pleased with the action, or impatient of wants, or prevented by death.

Thus have I delivered the contents of the enterprise and last action of sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meete to be published: wherein may alwaies appeare, (though he be extinguished) some sparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and resolute in a purpose by all pretence honest and godly, as was this, to discover, possesse, and to reduce unto the service of God, and Christian pietie, those remote and heathen Countreys of America, not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining unto the Crowne of England: unto the which, as his zeale deserveth high commendation: even so, he may justly be taxed of temeritie and presumption (rather) in two respects.

*Constan-
cie in sir
Humfrey
Gilbert.*

*His
temeritie
and pre-
sumption.*

First, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine & determinate place of habitation selected, neither any demonstration of commoditie there in esse, to induce his followers: nevertheles, he both was too prodigall of his owne patrimony, and too careles of other mens expences, to imploy both his and their substance upon a ground imagined good. The which falling, very like his associates were promised, and made it their best reckoning to bee salved some other way, which pleased not God to prosper in his first and great preparation.

Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credit, to performe his designements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes, which God might raise, he thrust himselfe againe into the action, for which he was not fit, presuming the cause pretended in Gods behalfe, would carie him to the desired ende. Into which, having thus made reentrie, he could not yeeld againe to withdraw, though hee sawe no encouragement to proceed, lest his credite foyled in his first attempt, in a second should utterly be disgraced. Betweene extremities, hee made a right adventure, putting all to God and good fortune, and which

was worst, refused not to entertaine every person and meanes whatsoever, to furnish out this expedition, the successe whereof hath bene declared.

But such is the infinite bountie of God, who from every evil deriveth good. For besides that fruite may growe in time of our travelling into those Northwest lands, the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors, which before we noted to bee in this Gentleman, and made unsavorie, and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues.

Afflictions needfull in the children of God.

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing unto the image of God: so it pleased the divine will to resume him unto himselfe, whither both his, and every other high and noble minde, have alwayes aspired.

125. [1584]. RICHARD CLARKE'S ACCOUNT OF THE CASTING AWAY OF THE *Delight*¹.

A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, master of the ship called the *Delight*, going for the discovery of Norembega, with Sir Humfrey Gilbert 1583. Written in excuse of that fault of casting away the ship and men, imputed to his oversight.

Departing out of Saint Johns Harborough in the Newfoundland the 20. of August unto Cape Raz, from thence we directed our course unto the Ile of Sablon or the Isle of Sand, which the Generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert would willingly have seene. But when we came within twentie leagues of the Isle of Sablon, we fell to controversie of our course. The Generall came up in his Frigot and demanded of mee Richard Clarke master of the Admirall what course was best to keepe: I said that Westsouthwest was best: because the wind was at South and night at hand and unknowen sands lay off a great way from the land. The Generall commanded me to go Westnorthwest. I told him againe that the Isle of Sablon was Westnorthwest and but 15. leagues off, and that he should be upon the Island before day, if hee went that course. The Generall sayd, my reckoning was untrue, and charged me in her Majesties name, and as I would shewe my selfe in her Countrey, to follow him that night. I

20.
Leagues from the Isle of Sablon.

15.
Leagues from the Isle of Sablon. Herein Clarke

¹ Hakluyt, *Principall navigations* (1589), pp. 700-1; III (1600), 163-5.

*untruely
chargeth
sir
Humfrey
Gilbert.¹
The ship
cast away
on
Thursday
being the
29 of
August
1583.*

*Sixteene
gate into
the ship-
boate.*

*Master
Hedlyes
ungodly
proposi-
tion.*

fearing his threatnings, because he presented her Majesties person, did follow his commaundement, and about seven of the clocke in the morning the ship stroke on ground, where shee was cast away. Then the Generall went off to Sea, the course that I would have had them gone before, and saw the ship cast away men and all, and was not able to save a man, for there was not water upon the sand for either of them much lesse for the Admirall, that drew fourteene foote. Now as God would the day before it was very calme, and a Souldier of the ship had killed some foule with his piece, and some of the company desired me that they might hoysse out the boat to recover the foule, which I granted them: and when they came aboard they did not hoysse it in againe that night. And when the ship was cast away the boate was a sterne being in burthen one tunne and an halfe: there was left in the boate one oare and nothing els. Some of the company could swimme, and recovered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they coule: among the rest they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Master: They happened on my selfe being the master, but could never see the Captaine: Then they halled into the boate as many men as they could in number 16. whose names hereafter I will rehearse. And when the 16. were in the boate, some had small remembrance, and some had none: for they did not make account to live, but to prolong their lives as long as it pleased God, and looked every moment of an houre when the Sea would eate them up, the boate being so little and so many men in her, and so foule weather, that it was not possible for a shippe to brooke halfe a coarse of sayle. Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nights, and that wee saw it pleased God our boate lived in the Sea (although we had nothing to helpe us withall but one oare, which we kept up the boate withall upon the Sea, and so went even as the Sea would drive us) there was in our company one master Hedly that put forth this question to me the Master. I doe see that it doth please God, that our boate lyveth in the Sea, and it may please God that some of us may come to the land if our boate were not overladen. Let us make sixteene lots, and those foure that have the foure shortest lots, we will cast

¹ This comment is obviously added by Hakluyt.

overboord preserving the Master among us all. I replied unto him, saying, no, we will live and die together. Master Hedly asked me if my remembrance were good: I answered I gave God prayse it was good, and knewe how farre I was off the land, and was in hope to come to the lande within two or three dayes, and sayde they were but threescore leagues from the lande, (when they were seventie) all to put them in comfort. Thus we continued the third and fourth day without any sustenance, save onely the weedes that swamme in the Sea, and salt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly dyed and another moreover: then wee desired all to die: for in all these five dayes and five nights we saw the Sunne but once and the Starre but one night, it was so foule weather. Thus we did remaine the sixt day: then we were very weake and wished all to die saving onely my selfe which did comfort them and promised they should come soone to land, by the helpe of God: but the company were very importunate, and were in doubt they should never come to land, but that I promised them the seventh day they should come to shore, or els they should cast me over boord: which did happen true the seventh day, for at eleven of the clocke wee had sight of the land, and at 3. of the clocke at afternoone we came on land. All these seven dayes and seven nights, the wind kept continually South. If the wind had in the meane time shifted upon any other point, wee had never come to land: we were no sooner come to the land, but the wind came cleane contrary at North within halfe an houre after our arrivall. But we were so weake that one could scarcely helpe another of us out of the boate, yet with much adoe being come all on shore we kneeled downe upon our knees and gave God praise that he had dealt so mercifully with us. Afterwards those which were strongest holpe their fellowes unto a fresh brooke, where we satisfied our selves with water and berries very well. There were of al sorts of berries plentie, & as goodly a Countrey as ever I saw: we found a very faire plaine Champion ground that a man might see very farre every way: by the Sea side was here and there a little wood with goodly trees as good as ever I saw any in Norway, able to mast any shippe, of pyne trees, spruse trees, firre, and very great birch trees. Where we came on land we made a little house with

*They
came on
land the 7
day after
their ship-
wracke.*

*The fruit-
fulness of
the south
part of
Newfound
land.*

boughes, where we rested all that night. In the morning I divided the company three and three to goe every way to see what foode they could find to sustaine themselves, and appointed them to meete there all againe at noone with such foode as they could get. As we went aboard we found great store of peason as good as any wee have in England: a man would thinke they had bene sowed there. We rested there three dayes and three nights and lived very well with pease and berries, wee named the place Saint Laurence, because it was a very goodly river like the river of S. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmons. When wee had well rested our selves wee rowed our boate along the shore, thinking to have gone to the Grande Bay to have come home with some Spanyards which are yeerely there to kill the Whale: And when we were hungry or a thirst we put our boate on land and gathered pease and berries. Thus wee rowed our boate along the shore five dayes: about which time we came to a very goodly river that ranne farre up into the Countrey and saw very goodly growen trees of all sortes. There we happened upon a ship of Saint John de Luz, which ship brought us into Biskay to an Harborough called The Passage. The Master of the shippe was our great friend, or else we had bene put to death if he had not kept our counsayle. For when the visitors came aboard, as it is the order in Spaine, they demaunding what we were, he sayd we were poore fishermen that had cast away our ship in Newfound land, and so the visitors inquired no more of the matter at that time. Assoone as night was come he put us on land and bad us shift for our selves. Then had wee but tenne or twelve miles into France, which we went that night, and then cared not for the Spanyard. And so shortly after we came into England toward the end of the year 1583.

*Fourteen
of our men
brought
out of
Newfound
land in a
ship of St.
John de
Luz.*

126. RICHARD WHITBOURNE'S RECOLLECTION OF GILBERT IN NEWFOUNDLAND¹.

My first Voyage thither was about 40. yeeres since, in a worthy Ship of the burthen of 300. Tunne, set foorth by one

¹ R. Whitbourne, *A discourse and discovery of New-found-land* (1620), preface, sig. C5. Reprinted by Purchas, *Hakluytus posthumus*, IV (1625), 1882; XIX (1906), 425-6.

Master Cotton of South-hampton; wee were bound to the grand Bay (which lyeth on the North-side of that Land,) purposing there to trade then with the Savage people, (for whom we carried sundry commodities) and to kill whales, and to make Trayne oyle, as the Biscaines doe there yeerely in great abundance. But This our intended Voyage was overthrowne, by the indiscretion of our Captaine, and faint-heartednesse of some Gentlemen of our Company.

Whereupon we set saile from thence, and bare with Trinity Harbor in New-found-land: where we killed great store of Fish Deere, Beares, Beavers, Seales, Otters, and such like, with abundance of Sea-fowle: and so returning for England, we arrived safe at South-hampton.

In a Voyage to that Countrey about 36. yeeres since, I had then the command of a worthy Ship of 220. Tun, set forth by one Master Croke of South-hampton: At that time Sir Humfrey Gilbert, a Devonshire Knight, came thither with two good Ships and a Pinnace, and brought with him a large Patent, from the late most renowned Queene Elizabeth, and in her name tooke possession of that Countrey, in the Harbour of S. Johns, whereof I was an eye-witnesse. He sailed from thence towards Virginia, and by reason of some unhappy direction in his course, the greatest Ship he had, strucke upon Shelves, on the Coast of Canadie, and was there lost, with most part of the company in her: And hee himselve being then in a small Pinnace of 20. Tun, in the company of his Vice-Admirall, (one Captaine Hayes) returning towards England, in a great storme, was overwhelmed with the Seas and so perished.

127. EXTRACT FROM CAMDEN'S *Annals*¹.

Near the same time was swallowed by the Ocean Sir Humphrey Gilbert Knight, a quick and lively-spirited man, famous for his Knowledge in matters relating both to War & Peace, in his Return from the North part of America, which we call New-found-land, whither he had set sail a little before with five

¹ William Camden, *History of . . . Princess Elizabeth* (1688), p. 287. A translation from the first (Latin) edition of the *Annales* (1615), where this passage appears on p. 345.

Ships, having sold his Patrimony, in hope to plant a Colony there. But after he had by an Herald or Crier proclaimed that Countrey to belong to the English Jurisdiction, (for Sebastian Cabot was the first that discovered it, in the year 1497, being employed therein by Henry the Seventh,) and had assigned Lands to every particular man of his Company: he suffered so much by Shipwrecks and want of necessary Provision, that he was constrained to give over his Enterprise, learning too late himself, and teaching others, that it is a difficulter thing to carry over Colonies into remote Countries upon private mens Purses, than he and others in an erroneous Credulity had perswaded themselves, to their own Cost and Detriment.

128. [APRIL 1584]. SIR WALTER RALEIGH TO DR. D. LEWES, JUDGE OF THE ADMIRALTY¹.

Mr Lewis ther is a matter between my brother Sir John Gilbert and a Skottisman about a shipp which he now possesseth / first she was taken by a piratt delivered to the Queens use praysed and sold befor Sir John had her / aftre ward she was leaft att newfoundland from whence he was att great charge to bringe her home, then she arivd² in cornwall wher she spent her mastes besids he hath new built her / so that I thinke he should be very extremly dealt withall to have the ship taken from hym without recumpence having furst bought her by good ordre and hawinge lost a great ship going to newfoundland he hath sent her thither with another small barks³ to save sum part of his charges / Sir I pray lett hym have your lawfull favor and yow shall ric'mand⁴ mee in any otre matter.

Your very asured freinde

W Raleigh⁵

Addressed:—To the righte wor: my very good frend⁶ Mr Doctor Lewes.

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Exemplifications, 1583-5. HCA 14/22, 100. Printed by Mr. C. L'Estrange Ewen in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 4 March 1939, p. 136.

² 'arried'. *TLS*.

⁴ 'cu'mande'. *TLS*.

⁶ 'friend'. *TLS*.

³ 'barke'. *TLS*.

⁵ The letter is holograph.

129. 11 APRIL 1584. SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM TO DR. LEWES, JUDGE OF THE ADMIRALTY¹.

After my hartie comendations Wheras Sir Humfrey Gilbert redeemed a certaine shippe from pirates at the sea which shippe is in the possession of Sir John Gilbert and clamed by a Scottishman: for that heretofore an other heth clamed propertie to this shippe and the clame of this Scottishman may be greatly doubted to be just: and moreover Sir Humfrey and Sir John Gilbert have been at great charges as well in the redemption of this shippe as the reparyng of hir, I would be glad to knowe your opinion what were fitt to be done in this case and what the lawe is towching the same. this bearer is able to informe you more at large of this cawse to whome I referre you desyryng your answeere hereunto. And so commend you hartely to God. From the Court the xith of Aprill 1584 /

Your loving frend

Fra Walsyngham

Addressed:—To my verie loving frend Mr doctour Lewes Judge of the Admiraltie: or to his deputie Judge of the same Court.

130. 11 APRIL 1584. RECOGNIZANCE FOR RICHARD BOYSE².

Tenetur in cxl li. xxvi^o Regine Eliz.

The condicion of this Recognisaunce is souch That whereas a sh[ip] called the Goulden Chalis otherwyse the Swallowe whereof Jo[hn] Chalis was late owner is forfieted and belonging to the Quenes Majesty for that the said John Chalys whilest he was owner therof did feloniously commytt piracy in the same upon the Sea and fiede for the same which ship with her tackling afterwarde came to the possessyon of Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight who taking him selfe to be owner to the same gave yt to the above bounden Richard Boyse upon consyderacion that he at his owne charges should bring or send home into this Relm[e]

¹ High Court of Admiralty, Exemplifications, 1583-5. HCA 14/22, 99

² High Court of Admiralty, Exemplifications, 1583-5. HCA 14/22, 98. Draft.

of England certayne English marynours which were syke in newfound Land, and therefore lefte there by the sayd Sir Humphrey Gilbert as he went foreward on of his voyage towardes [] the said R[ichard Boyse afore] s[aid] who ther-upon hath¹ made humble suyt to this Court that he may enjoy the sayd shippe and her tackling without lett or molestacion of the Quenes Officers or any other untill the truth shalbe knowne whither the same shall belong to her Majesty by reason of the said Piracy or for any other cause or to him selfe by the sayd gifte or to any other by any other tytle and that yf yt shall [be] founde to belong to the Quenes highnes that then he may enjoy yt without paying any thing for the same or at le[ast] for some smale some of money to be payd to her majesties use for yt in consyderacion that he sent the sicke maryn[ers] into England at his owne charges and goeing forward with the sayd Sir Humphrey Gilbert susteyned great losses upon the sea and was in great daunger to be drowned with xv others by the space of eyght dayes being in a lyttell Shippe boate dryving upon the Seas without meate drinke Clothes or any other reliefe to mayntayne there lyfes and without oares or other meanes to bringe the boate to any Land untill yt pleased god that yt was dryven one shore on an unknowne place in Newfound Land In consyderacion whereof And for the avoyding of the great Charges that the keping of the sayd shipp will requier to preserve yt frome decay It is thought meate and so ordered that the same shippe and fornytuer abovesayd to be delyvered to the above bounden Richard Boyse yelding and paying to the Quenes Majesties use so much as they shalbe valued to be worth by the auctoritie of the Court of Exchequer or as by the same Court shalbe lymytted to [be] payd for the same being not duely proved in the Court or [sic] admiraltie to belong to the sayd Boyse or some other person or persones Yf therefore the sayd shipp and furnytuer shall not within one yere and a day now next ensuing after the date herof be claymed & proved in the sayd Court of Admiraltie by due Course of Lawe to belong to the sayd Richard Boyse or to some to [sic] other person or persones other then the Quenes majesty then yf [the] sayde Richard Boyse his executours administra-

¹ 'informed' crossed out.

tours or assignes doe before the end of the terme of St. Hillary the next ensuing pay or cause to be payd to the use of our sayd Sovereigne Lady the Queen her heyres & successores at one entier payment the value of the sayd premisses to be sett or lymytted as afore sayd without [any] delay And yf yt shall h[appe]n the sayd s[hip] with the furnytuer to be claymed and recovered out of her Majesties handes within the sayd tyme by the true owner or owners thereof other then then [sic] the sayd Richard Boyse the[n] yf the said Richard Boyse his executours or administratours shall & doe stand to performe and fulfill souche order as the Judge of the sayd Court of Admyraltie shall take make & ordeyne touching the sayd shippe and furnytuer and the restytucion of the same or the value thereof to the sayd recoverers according to the discrecion of the sayd Judg. That then &c. Or els &c.

Endorsed.—Upon the saide shippe ys hys uppon prisse made in lawe to hawe for allowance of his necessary chardges bestowed uppon the said shippe. And there with I humbly take my leave of you[r] honor. From tharches the xith of Aprill 1584

Mr [H]arward¹ [make] a tes[tymonyall] under the lytle seall that Paule Wilson hathe and the [shipp] deliver after to hym

D. Lewes²

131. 1586. JOHN HOOKER ON SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT³.

Sir Humfreie Gilbert, he was a second brother, and borne of a great parentage, whose ancestors came and descended from the earle of Cornewall, a man of higher stature than of the common sort, & of complexion cholerike; from his childhood of a verie pregnant wit and good disposition: his father died leaving him verie yoong, and he conceiving some great good thing to come of his towardnesse, provided some portion of living to mainteine and keepe him to schoole. And after his death, his mother, being no lesse carefull of him, did cause him to be sent to schoole to Eton college: from thense, after he had profited in

The description of sir Humfreie Gilbert, and his descent.

¹ 'Mr Hareward, Register of Thadmiraltye'. HCA 14/22, 231.

² The pen has torn and blotted the paper and the reading of the second endorsement is conjectural in places.

³ 'Chronicles of Ireland', in Holinshed, *Chronicles*, II (1587), 132-3.

the elements & principall points of grammer, he was sent to Oxford, & did there prosper & increase verie well in learning and knowledge. And being (as his friends thought) verie well furnished, they would have put him to the ins of court. But an aunt of his, named mistres Katharine Ashlie, who was attendant to the queenes majestie, after that she saw the yong gentleman, and had had some conference with him, she fell in such liking with him, that she preferred him unto hir majesties service: and such was his countenance, forwardnesse, and behaviour, that hir majestie had a speciall good liking of him; and verie oftentimes would familiarlie discourse and conferre with him in matters of learning. After a few yeares spent in the court, he passed over into Ireland, being commended by hir highnesse to sir Henrie Sidneie then lord deputie: who gave him interteinement, and made him a capteine over an hundred horssemen: wherein he so well acquitted himselfe, that he was also made coronell of Mounster and had appointed unto him, besides his owne band of hundred horssemen, foure hundred footemen, besides such Geraldines as Thomas of Desmond, brother to the erle of Desmond had procured, & upon his oth of loialtie and pledges had promised his faithfull service.

And albeit he were but yong of yeares, which might seeme to hinder his credit: yet such was his devout mind to serve hir majestie, and so effectuellie to his great praise he followed the same; that with manie good gifts and excellent vertues he so supplied even as much as manie men of elder yeares & greater experience did not commonlie attaine unto. For in service upon the enimie he was as valiant and couragious as no man more; and so good was his hap to answer the same: for he alwaies for the most part daunted the enimie, and appalled their courage; as did appeare in the overthrow given neere Kilkennie in the Butlers warres, when he with twelve persons gave the onset upon a thousand men, of which six hundred were armed Gallowglasses, who then were overthrowne: and likewise in Mounster, which was altogether up in rebellion: and he coronell, did not onelie in martiall affaires shew himselfe most valiant; and in short time reduced the whole troope of the rebels, and the proudest of them to obedience, having under him but five

hundred against sundrie thousands; and inforced that proud earle of Clancart to follow him to Limerike, and there humblie upon his knees to aske pardon and mercie: but also, after that he had subdued and overcome them, did most uprightlie order and direct his gouvernement, and with all indifferencie would heare, decide, and determine the complaints & griefs, and compound all the causes of everie sutor. Which was so rare a thing in one of his yeares, as scarce was credible, had not eiewitnesses and dailie experience proved and justified the same.

After that he had established peace and tranquillitie in that countrie, he went to Dublin: where when he had recounted all his services, and the good successe thereof; and in what quiet state he had left the countrie, he desired leave to passe over into England, for and about certeine matters of great importance, which he had to follow, which he did obtaine: as also in reward of his service, and for his good deserts he (as is before said) was honored and dubbed a knight; and with letters in his praise and commendation to hir majestie, and the lords of the councell, he departed. As sone as he had presented himselfe before hir highnesse, hir good countenance and favour, in respect of his good service to hir majestie was increased and doubled; and he speciallie above all others magnified and well accepted. Not long after, he was married to a yoong gentlewoman, and an inheritrix: and thense foorth he gave himselfe to studies pertaining to the state of government, and to navigations. He had an excellent and readie wit, and therewith a toong at libertie to utter what he thought. Which being adorned with learning and knowledge, he both did and could notablie discourse anie matter in question concerning either of these, as he made good prooffe thereof, as well in familiar conference with the noble, wise and learned: as also in the open assemblies of the parlements, both in England and in Ireland¹: in which he shewes the great value of know-

¹ This is the only reference to Gilbert being a member of the Irish House of Commons. The Parliament referred to is that which met in Dublin on 17 January 1569 and ended its first session on 23 February. Two other sessions were held, and the Parliament was not dissolved until December 1570. Hooker sat in it as M.P. for Athenry. See C. Litton Falkiner, 'The Parliament of Ireland under the Tudor sovereigns', in *Proc. Royal Irish Academy*, xxv, section C (1905), 525-9, 553-8, 560-6.

ledge, wisdom, and learning which was in him, and the great zeale he had to the commonwealth of his countrie. He had a great delight in the studie of cosmographie, and especiallie in navigations: and finding out by his studies, certeine nations and unknowne lands, which being found, might redound to the greate benefite of his countrie: he made hir majestie acquainted therewith, and obtained of hir a licence to make a navigation, which he tooke in hand. But before he could compasse the same to effect, he was in a foule storme drowned at the seas. Onelie he of all his brethern had five sons and one daughter, children by their countenances giving a hope of a good towardnesse. And albeit he in person be deceased, yet in their visages, and in the memoriall of his great vertues, and a life well spent, he shall live in fame immortall. Thus much without offense. and not altogether impertinent, concerning this gentleman, and now to the historie.

*Sir
Humfreie
Gilbert is
drowned.*

CHAPTER VI
SIR GEORGE PECKHAM'S *TRUE*
REPORTE . . .

You gallants all o' the British blood,
Why dont you sayle o' the Ocean's flood,
I protest your not all worth a Philbert,
If once compared to Sir Humphrey Gilbert.
For he went out on a rainy day
And to the New found land found out his way,
With many a gallant both fresh and green,
And he ne'er came home again.

ANDREWS and DAVENPORT, *Guide to the manuscript material for
the history of the United States.*

132. 12 NOVEMBER 1583. SIR GEORGE PECKHAM, *A true
reporte of the late discoveries*¹.

A TRUE REPORTE,
Of the late discoveries,
and possession, taken in the right of the Crowne of Englande, of the
Newfound Landes:

By that valiaunt and worthe Gentleman,
Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight.

Wherein is also breiefely sette downe, her highnesse lawfull Tytle
thereunto, and the great and manifolde Commodities, that is likely
to grow thereby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the
Adventurers in particular. Together with
the easines and shortnes of the Voyage².

Seene and allowed.

At London,
Printed by J. C. for John Hinde, dwelling in Paules Church-yarde,
at the signe of the golden Hinde.

Anno. 1583.

¹ Reprinted in *The magazine of history*, Tarrytown, N.Y., xvii, extra no. 68, pp. 1-59 (1920). Hakluyt (*Principall navigations* (1589), pp. 701-18; III (1600), 165-81) printed it, omitting the introductory letter and poems and also the 'Articles of Assuraunce'.

² Hakluyt, III (1600), 165, adds after the title: 'Written by Sir George Peckham Knight, the chiefe adventurer and furtherer of Sir Humphrey Gilberts voyage to Newfound land'. He then omits down to p. 444 below.

To the Right Honourable Sir Fraunces Walsingham Knight, principall Secretarie to the Queene, her most excellent Majestie.

HOW much more happie might I account my selfe, (right honourable Sir) if I had so well applied my time in this Uniuersitie, as through my more dilligent studye, I were able to handle the matter, (which I have in this Treatise taken vpon me) as the worthynes thereof dooth meryte.

Truely Sir I was for a time, drawn into a doubtfull ballaunce, whether I should proceede therein, as my affection intised me, or leave it off, as good discretion advised mee. Eftsoones have I right hartely wished that some of those rype, and perfect witts, adorned with like judgement, (wherewith God hath plentifully blessed this our age) woulde have imploied their pennes, learnedly to have sette forth thys cause: But seeing that in wishing, I doo fynde nothing, but to wish, and that the case so standeth, as eyther the thyng, right woorthye bothe knowledge, and practise, shall styll lie in a slumber, or rather rest buried in the grave of oblivion, unlesse I doo make publique my weaknesse and insufficiencye, and therby subject my selfe to the diversitye of mens judgements, I have made choyse, rather to indure the disgrace of the one, then that my Countrey shoulde sustaine the inconvenience of the other, trusting that your honour (who hath hetherto beene a principall Patron of this Action) will vpon my humble sute vouchsafe your favourable protection heereof. For wee doo reade (right honourable) that Archimedes in respecte of his gravitie and wisdomes) helde that reputation amongst the Syracusans, that whatsoever he allowed, was accounted for good: which historye, if I shoulde apply unto your honour perticuliarlye, as both aptly and truely I could, I might (in the opinion of some men) incurre the suspicion of flattery, and receive from your Honour but the like aunswer, which King Theseus made unto blind Oedipus.

I doo not (quoth hee) O Oedipus, honour my selfe with other mens words, but with mine owne works. In silence therefore will I passe your ready and vertuous disposition, bothe honourably to favour, and favourably to further all such attemptes as seeme pleasing to God and profitable to your Countrey, both which (by the testimony of good writers, the opinion of wise men, and experience of great travaillors, these Western Discoveries doo certainly promise. In regarde whereof, I doo the rather presume to preferre this Pamphlet to bee Patronized by so woorthy a personne, whereby my escapes

may bee the more easilye excused, my willing paynes the better accepted, and the voyage more effectually supplied.

Thus beeing lothe any longer to detayne your honour from your weightye affayres, I humblye take leave, beseeching God manie yeeres to lengthen your life, with much encrease of honour. From my lodging in Oxforde, the twelvth of November.

Your Honours poore Scholler,
in all service to use. G. P.

Sir William Pelham Knight, in commendation of the discourse following.

LIKE as the Fishes, breeding in the deepe,
Through all the Ocean are allowed to raung:
Nor forst in any certaine boundes to keepe,
But as their motions carry them to chaung.
To men like libertie, dooth reason give:
In choise of soile, through all the world to live.

To valiaunt mindes each land is a native soile,
and vertue findes no dwelling place amis.
Regard of honour measures not the toyle,
To seeke a seat wherein contentment is.
That seat, that soile, that dwelling place of rest:
In this discourse, most livelie is exprest.

Our forren neighbours bordring hard at hand,
Have found it true, to many a thousands gaine:
And are inricht by this abounding land,
While pent at home, like sluggardes we remaine.
But though they have, to satisfie their will:
Inough is left, our cofers yet to fill.

Then England thrust among them for a share,
Since title just, and right is wholie thine:
And as I trust the sequell shall declare,
Our lucke no worse, then theirs before hath beene.
For where the attempt, on vertue dooth depend:
No doubt but God, will blesse it in the ende.

William Pelham.

Sir Fraunces Drake Knight in commendation of this Treatise.

WHO seekes, by worthie deedes, to gaine renownme for hire:

Whose hart, whose hand, whose purse is prest: to purchase his desire

If anie such there bee, that thristeth after Fame:

Lo, heere a meane, to winne himselfe an everlasting name.

Who seekes, by gaine and wealth, t'advaunce his house and blood:

Whose care is great, whose toile no lesse, whose hope, is all for good

If anie one there bee, that covettes such a trade:

Lo, heere the plot for common wea[l]th, and private gaine is made.

Hee, that for vertues sake, will venture farre and neere:

Whose zeale is strong, whose practize trueth, whose faith is void of feere,

If any such there bee, inflamed with holie care.

Heere may hee finde, a readie meane, his purpose to declare:

So that, for each degree, this Treatise dooth unfold:

The path to Fame, the prooffe of zeale, and way to purchase golde.

Fraunces Drake.

M. John Hawkins, his opinion of this intended Voyage.

IF zeale to God, or countries care, with private gaines accesse,
Might serve for spurs unto th'attempt this pamphlet doth expresse.

One coast, one course, one toile might serve, at ful to make declard

A zeale to God, with countries good, and private gaines regarde.

And for the first this enterprise the name of God shall founde,

Among a nation in whose eares the same did never sounde.

Next as an endles running streame, her Channels doth discharge:

That swell above theyr boundes, into an Ocean wide and large.

So England that is pestered nowe, and choakt through want of ground

Shall finde a soile where roome enough, and perfect doth abounde.

The Romans when the number of their people grewe so great,

As neither warres could waste, nor Rome suffice them for a seate.

They led them forth by swarming troupes, to forraine lands amaine

And founded divers Colonies, unto the Romaine raigne.

Th'athenians us'de the like devise, the Argives thus have doone,

And fierce Achilles Myrmidons when Troy was over runne.
 But Rome nor Athens nor the rest, were never pestered so,
 As England where no roome remaines, her dwellers to bestow,
 But shuffled in such pinching bondes, that very breath dooth lacke:
 And for the want of place they craule one ore anothers backe.
 How noblie then shall they provide that for redresse heerein,
 With ready hand and open purse this action dooth beginne.
 Whence glory to the name of God, and countries good shall spring,
 And unto all that further it, a private gaine shall bring.
 Then noble youthes couragiously this enterprise discharge,
 And age that cannot mannage Armes, let them support the charge.
 The yssue of your good intent, undoubted will appeare,
 Both gracious in the sight of God, and full of honour heere.

John Hawkins.

Maister Captaine Bingham, his commendation upon this Treatise.

IF honour and reward, may moove the minde,
 By noble actions, highlie to aspire:
 The forward man in this discourse shall finde,
 Reward and honour, propos'd for hire.
 Which meede, no right renoumed hart mislikes:
 Though gaine by passing, through ten thousand pikes

The white whereat wee leuell, well is knowne,
 The plot and place, with finger poynted out:
 The name thereof through all the world is blone,
 To put the hard beleevers out of doubt.
 Our forren neighbours, like it to their gaine:
 And sucke the sweete, while sleeping we remaine.

The journey is but easie to bee gonne,
 The frozen Pole disjoyned farre dooth lye:
 We shape our course, farre from the burning Zonne,
 The soile is subject to a milder skye.
 And by prooffe, of many recordes tride:
 The Paradise, of all the world beside:

Then launch ye noble youthes into the maine,
 No lurking perrils lye amidde the way:
 Your travell shall retourne you treble gaine,
 and make your names renoumed another day.

For valiaunt mindes, through twentie Seas will roome:
And fish for lucke, while sluggardes lye at home.

Richard Bingham.

Maister Captaine Frobisher, in commendation of the voyage.

A PLEASAUNT ayre, a sweete and firtell soile,
A certaine gaine, a never dying praise:
An easie passage, voide of lothsome toile,
Found out by some, and knowen to mee the waies.
All this is there, then who will refraine to trie:
That loves to live abroade, or dreads to die.
Martin Frobisher.

Maister Captaine Chester, his commendation of this Treatise.

MARKE well this booke when you to reade beginne,
And finde you shall great secretes hid therein.
For with your selves you may imagine thus,
That God hath left this honour unto us.
The journey knowne, the passage quicklie runne,
The land full rich, the people easilie wunne.
Whose gaines shalbe the knowledge of our faith,
And ours such ritches as the country hath.
Pinche not for pence to set this action out,
Poundes will returne, thereof be not in doubt.
Your countrey shall be bounde due thanks to give,
For that the poore heereby you may relieve.
Unto your Prince good service you shall doo,
And unto God, a worke right gratefull to.

John Chester.

Mathew Roydon maister of Arte to his fellowe Student.

TO prayse thy booke because I am thy freende,
Though it be common and thy due indeede:
Perhaps it may some daintie eare offende,
Reprooffe repines that vertue hath her meede.
Yet neverthesse how ever things succede,
Sith to no other ende thy booke was made:
All that I wish, is that thou mayest perswade.

Mathew Roydon.

Maister Anthony Parkhurst in commendation of this Treatise.

BEHOLDE a worke that dooth reveale,
The ready way to welth and fame.
Commodious to the common weale.
And just without impeache of blame.
Which followed as the course doth lie,
May make all Englande thrive thereby.

It is not fond surmisde report,
Nor phantasie vaine heades to feede:
The mention of the trueth, coms short,
And lesser then the thing indeede.
Of recorde many thousandes are,
That can all this and more declare.

Howe happy were our England then,
(Sith neither men nor shipping want)
Some good and well disposed men,
An other England there would plant:
And so employ a number there,
Whose persons may be spared heere.

Th'atempt coulde never faile his fame,
Nor prooffe returne without effect:
For commonlie all actions frame,
Where Christian cause hath cheefe respect.
And he that in the heavens above doth raigne,
(No doubt) will blesse the sequell of theyr payne.
Anthony Parkhurst.

Arthur Hawkins in commendation of this Treatise.

MY freendes, if at Th'exchaunge a man shoulde goe and tell,
that such, and such commodities he had to sell.
Whereof we stood in neede and scarcelie to be founde,
Whereby a quicke returne with profit woulde redounde.
I doubt not ere I past, but you would crave the sight,
Of these commended wares, and buy them if you might.
Y'are proferd at this time, fayre Grapes to make your wine,
The pleasaunt fruites of Spaine, the Figs and Orenge fine.

The speckled Russian Furres, that Esterlings us sendes,
 The Rosen, Pitch, and Deales that Dansk and Denmarke lendes.
 The Mettall heere is showne that with a quenchles fire,
 Inflames our thirsting hartes unstaunched in desire.
 A bargaine may you have, t'is put into your handes,
 Of all commodities you have from other landes.
 And at so easie price you can not choose but gaine:
 A trifle is the most, together with your paine,
 But what is that some sayes? our Englishmen gives eare,
 Onelie to gaine, God shielde it shoulde be true I heare.
 If we religious be, lets rigge our shippes with speede,
 And carry Christ to these poore souls, that stande in neede,
 Why pause yee thereupon? the freight will quite the charge,
 For what is doone for God, dooth finde rewarde full large.

A. H.

John Achelley Cyttyzen and Marchantailour of London, for
 conclusion.

IF truth and praise have power, to make this matter gratiuous:
 What neede we then extoll the thing, hath beene commended thus.
 And by the better sorte that wright, of truth and knowledge so:
 As nothing of this worke, they promised further then they know.
 Beleeve them for they be our freendes, and with our Counties weale:
 Let us imbrase that God and truth, so loovinglie reveale.
 Whereof the merrit is no lesse, then is the bruted Fame:
 Aske straungers and that noble minde, that did attempt the same:
 To whom we owe the titles, that to Vertues Nimpes are due:
 So good a Knight whom English men, in vertue should persue.
 No doubt but God will blesse th'attempt, succeed him roundly then:
 And in this Voyage follow fast, you that bee English men.
 With such supplie from time to time, as what is well begonne:
 Bee not for want of men and aide, through slackfulnes undoone.
 So shall you harbour in your hartes, the seedes of magnanimitie:
 A vertue where with all, the Romaines did enlarge their Empery.
 Be you prepared for every foe, and be couragious then:
 For that you slippe through negligence, will fall to other men.
 Envie hath eyes to see afarre, your new attempt will whet:
 A number more to seeke therefore, if you your selves forget.
 Send forth with speede, get footing there and make provision:
 Tis ill for us to linger thus, and talke thereof so longe.

John Achelley.

The Table of the Chapters, containing the principall matters in this Booke.

1 The first Chapter, wherein the Argument of the Booke is contained.

2 The seconde Chapter, sheweth that it is lawfull and necessary, to trade and traficke with the Savages. And to plant in theyr Countreys. And devideth planting into two sortes.

3 The third Chapter, dooth shewe the lawfull Title, which the Queenes most excellent Majestie hath unto those Countreys, which through the ayde of almighty God are to be inhabited.

4 The fourth Chapter sheweth, how that the trade, traficke and planting in those Countreys, is likely to proove very profitable to the whole Realme in generall.

5 The fift Chapter, sheweth that the trading and planting in those Countreys, is likely to proove to the perticuler profit of all the Adventurers.

6 The sixt Chapter, sheweth that the traficke and planting in those Countreys, shall bee unto the Savages themselves very beneficiall and gainfull.

7 The seaventh Chapter, sheweth that the planting there is not a matter of such charge or diffyculty, as many woulde make it seeme to bee.

8 The Contents of Articles of Assuraunce, between the Principal assignes of Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight, and the foure sortes of Adventurers, with them in the voyage for the Western Discoveries.

The ende of the Table.

The firste Chapter¹, wherein the Argument of the Booke is Contayned.

*Maister
Edward
Hay*

IT was my fortune (good Reader) not many dayes past, to meete with a right honest and discrete Gentleman, who accompanied that valiant and worthy Knight Sir Humfry Gilbert, in this last journey for the Western discoveryes. And is owner and Captaine of the onelie Vessell which is as yet returned from thence:

By him I did understande, that Sir Humfry departed the coaste of Englande the eleventh of June last past, with five sayle of Shippes from Caushenbay neere Plimmouth, wherof one of the best forsooke his companie, the thirteenth day of the same moneth, and returned into England.

*Sir
Humfrey
Gilbert did
arrive at
S. Johns
haven in
New-
founde
Land, the
3. of
August.
Anno. Do.
1583.*

The other foure (through the assistaunce of almighty God) did arrive at Saint Johns Haven, in Newfounde Lande, the thyrd of August last. Upon whose arrivall all the Maisters and cheefe Mariners of the English Flete, which were in the sayd Haven before, endeavouring to fraughte themselves with Fysh, repayred unto Sir Humfrey, whom he made acquainted with the effect of his commission: which being doone, he promised to intreate them and their goods well and honourably as dyd become her majesties Lieftennaunt. They did all welcome him in the best sorte that they coulede, and shewed him and his, all such courtesies as that place coulede affoorde or yeelde.

*Among
these there
wasfounde
the tract
of a beast
of 7. inches
and a
halfe over*

Then he went to viewe the Countrey, being wel accompanied with most of his Captaines and Soldiers. They found the same very temperate, but somewhat warmer then Englande at that season of the yeere, replenished with Beastes and great store of Fowle of divers kindes: And Fish of sundry sortes, both in the salte water and in the fresh, in so greate plentie as might suffice to victuall an Armie, and they are verie easilie taken. What sundrie other commodities for this Realme, right necessarie the same dooth yeelde, you shall understande in this treatise heereafter, in place more convenient.

On munday being the fift of August, the Generall caused his Tent to be set upon the side of an hill, in the viewe of all the Flete of Englishmen and Straungers, which were in number betweene thirty and fortie sayle, then being accompanied with all his Captaines, Maisters, Gentlemen and other Soldiers, he caused all the Maisters, and principall Officers of the Shippes, as well Englishmen as Span-

¹ Hakluyt, III (1600), 165 begins.

iardes, Portingals, and of other nations to repayre unto his Tent: And then and there, in the presence of them all, he did cause hys commission, under the great seale of England to bee openlie and solempnlie reade unto them, whereby were graunted unto him his heyres, and assignes, by the Queenes most excellent Majestie, manie great and large royalties, liberties, and priviledges. The effect whereof being signified unto the Straungers by an Interpreter, he tooke possession of the sayd land in the right of the Crowne of England by digging of a Turfe and receiving the same with an Hasell wand, delivered unto him, after the manner of the lawe and custome of England.

*Sir
Humfrey
tooke
possession
of the New
found
lande in
theright of
the crowne
of Eng-
lande.
Three
lawes esta-
blished
there by
Sir
Humfrey.*

Then he signified unto the company both strangers and others that from thence forth, they were to live in that Land, as the Territories appertayning to the Crowne of England, and to be governed by such Lawes as by good advise shoulde bee set downe, which in all poyntes (so neere as might be) shold be agreeable to the Lawes of England: And for to put the same in execution, presentlie he ordeined and established three Lawes.

Fyrst, that Religion publicquely exercised, should be such and none, other then is used in the Church of England.

The seconde, that if any person should bee lawfully convicted of any practise against her Majestie, her crowne and dignity, to be adjudged as traytors according to the Lawes of Englande.

The thyrd, if any shoulde speake dishonourably of her Majestie, the partie so offending, to loose his eares, hys Shippe and goods, to be confiscate to the use of the Generall.

All men did verie willingly submit themselves to these Lawes. Then he caused the Queenes majesties Armes, to be engraved, sett uppe, and erected, with great solempnity. After this, divers English men, made sute unto Sir Humfrey to have of him by inheritance, theyr accustomed Stages, standinges and drying places, in sundry partes of that Land for theyr Fish, as a thing that they doo make great accompte off, which he graunted unto them, in fee farme. And by thys meanes, he hath possession mayntained for him, in many partes of that Country. To be brieft, he dyd lette, sette, give and dispose of many thinges, as absolute governour there, by vertue of her majesties letters pattents.

*Sundry
persons,
became
Tennants
to Sir
Humfrey,
and doo
maintaine
possession
for him in
divers
places
there.*

And after theyr Shippes were repayred, whereof one, hee was driven to leave behinde, bothe for want of men sufficient to furnish her, as also to carrie home such sicke persons as were not able to proceede any further: He departed from thence the 20 of August,

with the other three, namelie, the Delight, wherein was appointed Captaine in Maister William Winters place, (that thence returned immediatlie for Englande) Maister Morris Browne: the Golden Hynde, in which was Captaine and owner, Maister Edwarde Hay: and the little Frigat where the Generall himselfe did goe, seeming to him most fitt to discover and approche the Shoare.

The 21. day they came to Cape Rase, towarde the South partes whereof, lying a while becalmed, they tooke Codd in largenes and quantitie, exceeding the other parts of Newfound Lande, where any of them had beene. And from thence, trending the Coast West, towarde the Bay of Placencia. The Generall sent certain men a Shoare, to view the countrey, which to them as they sayled along, seemed pleasaunt. Whereof his men at theyr returne gave great commendation, likeing so well of the place, as they would willinglie have stayed and wintred there. But having the winde fayre and good, they proceeded on theyr course towards the fyrm of Ameryca, which by reason of continuall Fogges, at that time of the yeere especially: they coulde never see, till Cox Maister of the Golden Hinde did discern Lande, and presently lost sight thereof againe, at what time they were all upon a breache in a great and outrageous storme, having under 3. fadome water. But God delivered the Frigat and the Golden Hinde, from this great daunger. And the Delight in the presence of them all was lost, to theyr unspeakable greefe, with all theyr cheefe victuall, munition, and other necessary provisions, and other thinges of value not fitt heere to be named. Whereuppon, by reason also that Winter was come upon them, and fowle wether increased with Fogges and Mysts that so covered the Land, as without daunger of perishing they coulde not approche it: Sir Humfrey Gilbert and Maister Hays, were compelled much against theyr wills to retyre homewardes. And beeing 300. Leagues on theyr way, were afterwarde by tempestious weather, seperated the one from the other, the 9. of September last, since which time, Maister Hay with his Barke, is safelie arrived, but of Sir Humfrey as yet, we heare no certaine newes.

Upon this reporte (together with my former intent, to write some brieve discourse in the commendation of this so noble and woorthy an enterprise) I did call to my remembraunce, the Historie of Themystocles the Grecian, (who beeing a right noble and valiant Captaine) signified unto hys Countrimen, the cittizens of Athens, that hee had invented a devise for theyr common wealth very profitable, but it was of such importaunce and secrecie, that it ought not

to be revealed, before private conference had with some perticuler prudent person of their choise.

The Athenians knowing Aristides the Philosopher, to be a man indued with singuler wisdom and vertue, made choyse of him to have conference with Themystocles, and thereuppon to yeelde his opinion to the Cittizens concerning the sayd device: which was, that they might set on fire the Navie of theyr enemies, with great facilitie as hee had layde the plotte: Aristides made relation to the Cittizens, that the stratageme (devised by Themystocles) was a profitable practise for the common wealth but it was dishonest. The Athenians (without further demaunde what the same was) dyd by common consent rejecte and condemne it, preferring honest and upright dealing before profite.

By occasion of this historie, I drewe my selfe into a more deeper consideration, of thys late undertaken voyage, whether it were as well pleasing to almightie God, as profitable to men? as lawfull as it seemed honourable. As well gratefull to the Savages, as gainfull to the Christians. And upon mature deliberation, I founde the action to bee honest and profitable, and therefore allowable by the opinion of Aristides if he were nowe alive, which beeing by me heerein sufficiently proved, (as by Gods grace I purpose to doo) I doubt not but that all good mindes, wyll endeavour themselves to be assistauntes to this so commendable an enterprise, by the valiant and woorthy Gentlemen our Countrimen already attempted and undertaken.

Nowe whereas I doo understande that Sir Humfrey Gilbert, his adherents, associates, and freendes doo meane with a convenient supplie (with as much speede as may bee) to maintaine, pursue and followe, this intended voyage already in part performed, and (by the assistaunce of almightie God) to plant themselves and theyr people in the continent of the hether part of America, betweene the degrees of 30. and 60. of septentrionall latitude. (Within which degrees by computation Astronomicall and Cosmographicall are doubtles to be founde, all things that be necessarie profitable, or delectable for mans life. The climate mylde and temperate, neither too hotte nor too colde, so that under the cope of heaven there is not any where to be founde a more convenient place to plant and inhabite in: which manie notable Gentlemen, bothe of our owne nation and straungers (who have beene travellers) can testifie: and that those Countries are at this day inhabited with Savages who have no

*Apparation
in hand for a
newe supply¹.*

*Englishmen.
Ma. John
Hawkins Sir
Fraunces
Drake Ma.
William
Winter.
Ma. John
Chester.
Ma. Martin
Furbisher.*

¹ Omitted by Hakluyt, III (1600), 167.

Anthony
Parkehurst.
William
Batts. John
Lowell David
Ingram.
Strangers
French.
Sir John
Ribaulte.
Jaques
Cartier.
Andrew
Thevet.
Mounser
Gourden.
Mounser
Popellynere¹
John
Verasanus.
Italian.
Christopher
Columnus
God doth not
alwaies begin
his greatest
workes by the
greatest
persons
His custome
was to bow
himselfe very
lowe in mak-
ing of curtesie.

knowledg of God) Is it not therfore (I say) to be lamented, that these poore Pagans, so long living in ignoraunce and Idolatry, and in sorte, thirsting after christianitie, (as may appeare by the relation of such as have travailed in those partes,) that our heartes are so hardned, that fewe or none can be found which wil put to theyr helping hands, and applie themselves to the relieving of the miserable and wretched estate of these sillie soules?

Whose Countrey dooth (as it were with arme advaunced) above the climats both of Spayne and Fraunce, stretche out it selfe towarde England onelie. In manner praying our ayde and helpe, as it is not onelie set foorth in Mercators generall Mappe, but it is also founde to bee true by the discovery of our nation, and other straungers, who have often times travailed upon the same Coastes.

Christopher Columnus of famous memorie the firste instrument to manifest the great glorie and mercy of almightie God in planting the Christian Faith, in those so long unknown regions, having in purpose to acquaint (as he did) that renowned Prince, the Queenes Majesties Grandfather, King Henry the seventh, with his intended voiage for the Western Discoveries, was not onely derided and mocked generally even heere in Englande, but afterward became a laughing stocke to the Spaniardes themselves, who at thys day (of all other people) are moste bounden to laude and prayse God, who first sturred uppe the man to that enterprise.

And while he was attending there to acquaint the King of Castile (that then was) with his intended purpose, by howe many wayes and meanes was hee derided? Some scorned the pildnes of his garments, some tooke occasion to jest at his simple and silly lookes, others asked if this were he, that lowts so lowe, which did take upon him to bring men into a Country that aboundeth wyth Gold, Pearle, and Precious stones? If hee were any such man (sayd they) he would carrie another manner of countenance with him, and looke somewhat loftier. Thus some judged him by his garments and others by his looke and countenance, but none entered into the consideration of the inward man.

In the ende, what successe his voyage had, who list to reade the Decades. The Historie of the West Indies, the conquest of Hernando Cortese about Mexico, and those of Francisco Pizare in Peru about Casamalcha and Cusco, may knowe more perticularly. All which theyr discoveries travells, and conquests, are extant to be had in the

Hernando
Cortese.
Francisco
Pызare.

¹ Hakluyt (III (1600), 167) has 'Monsieur Gourges. Monsier Laudonnière' and puts 'Verasanus' under 'Italian'.

English tongue. This device was then accounted a fantastickall imagination, and a drowsie dreame.

But the sequel thereof, hath since awaked out of dreames thousandes of soules to knowe theyr Creator, being thereof before that time altogether ignoraunt. And hath since made sufficient prooffe, neyther to be fantasticke, nor vainely imagined.

Withall, how mightely hath it enlarged the dominions of the Crowne of Spayne, and greatly enriching the subjectes of the same, let all men consider. Besides, it is well knowne, that sithence the time of Columnus his first discoverie, through theyr planting, possessing, and inhabiting those partes, there hath beene transported and brought home into Europe, greater store of Golde, Silver, Pearle, and Pretious stones, then heeretofore hath beene in all ages, since the creation of the worlde.

I doe therefore hartelie wish, that seeing it hath pleased almighty God, of hys infinite mercie at the length, to awake some of our worthy Countrey men, out of that drowsie dreame, wherein we all have so long slumbered.

That wee may nowe not suffer it to quaille for want of maintenance, that by these valiant Gentlemen our Countreymen is so nobly begun and enterprised. For which purpose, I have taken upon me to write this simple shorte treatise, hoping that it shall be able to perswade such as have beene, and yet doo continue detractors and hinderers of this journey, (by reason perhappes that they have not deliberately and advisedly entered into the judgment of the matter) that yet now upon better consideration they will become favorable furtherers of the same. And that such as are already well affected there unto, will continue theyr good dispositions And with all, I most humbly pray all such as are no Nyggardes of their purses, in buying of costly and rich apparrell, and liberall Contributors, in setting foorth of games, pastimes, feastinges and banquettes, (whereof the charge being past, there is no hope of publique profit or private commoditie) that henceforth they will bestowe and employe theyr liberalitie (heeretofore that way expended) to the furtherance of these so commendable purposed proceedings.

A reasonable request.

And to this ende have I taken penne in hande, as in conscience thereunto mooved, desiring much rather, that of the great multitude, which this Realme dooth nourish, farre better able to handle this matter then I my selfe am, it woulde have pleased some one of them to have undertaken the same. But seeing they are silent, and that it falleth to my lott to put penne to the paper, I will indeavour my selfe,

*The argu-
ment of
the Booke.*

and doo stande in good hope (though my skill and knowledge be simple, yet through the assistaunce of almighty God) to proove that this voyage, late enterprised, for trade, traficke, and planting, in America, is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Majesties dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in generall. Profitable to the adventurers in perticuler, beneficial to the Savages, and a matter to be attained without any great daunger or difficultie.

And lastlye (which moste of all is) A thing likewise tending to the honor and glory of almighty God: And for that the lawfulness to plant in those Countreyes, in some mens judgements, seemeth very doubtfull, I will beginne with the proove of the lawfulness of trade, traficke, and planting.

The seconde Chapter, sheweth that it is lawfull and necessarye to trade and traficke with the Savages. And to plant in their Countries. And devideth planting into two sortes.

AND firste for traficke, I say that the Christians may lawfully travaile into those Countries and abide there whom the Savages may not justly impugne and forbidde, in respect of the mutuall society and fellowship betweene man and man prescribed by the Lawe of Nations.

For from the first beginning of the creation of the world and from the renuing of the same after Noes floode, all men have agreed, that no violence shoulde be offered to Ambassadors. That the Sea with his Havens should bee common. That such as should fortune to be taken in warre, should be servauntes or slaves And that Straungers sholde not be dryven away from the place or Countrey whereunto they doo come.

If it were so then, I demaunde in what age, and by what Lawe is the same forbidden or denied since? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Christians to use trade and traficke with Infidels or Savages, carrying thether such commodities as they want, and bringing from thence some parte of their plentie.

A thing so commonly and generally practised, bothe in these our dayes, and in times past, beyonde the memory of man, both by Christians and Infidels, that it needeth no further proove.

And for as much as the use of trade and traficke, (bee it neever so profitable) ought not to bee preferred before the planting of Christian fayth. I will therefore somewhat entreate of planting (wythout

which, Christian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers never so carefull and diligent) which I meane to deuide in two sortes.

The first, when Christians by the good likeing and willing assent of the Savages, are admitted by them to quiet possession.

The seconde, when Christians beeing unjustly repulsed, doo seeke to attaine and maintaine the right for which they doo come.

And thoughe in regarde of the establishment of Christian Religion, eyther of bothe maye bee lawfullye and justlye exercised. Whereof manye examples may bee founde, as well in the tyme of Moises and Josua, and other Rulers before the byrth of Christ. As of many vertuous Emperours and Kinges sithence his incarnation: yet doo I wish, that before the second be put in practise, a prooffe may bee made of the firste, saving that for theyr safety as well against the Savages as all other forraine enemies, they should first well and stronglie fortifie themselves, which beeing doone, then by all fayre speeches, and every other good meanes of perswasion to seeke or take away all occasions of offence.

As letting them to understand, howe they came not to theyr hurt, but for theyr good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongst them, and to trade and traficke with them for theyr owne commoditie, without molesting or greiving them any way, which must not be doone by wordes onely but also by deedes.

For albeit, to maintaine right and repell injurie, be a just cause of warre, yet must there heereof be heedefull care had, that whereas the Savages be fearefull by nature, and fonde otherwise, the Christians shoulde doo theyr best endeavour to take away such feare as may growe unto them by reason of theyr straunge apparrell, Armour, and weapon, or such like, by quiet peaceable conversation, and letting them live in securitie and keeping a measure of blameles defence, with as little discommoditie to the Savages as may bee, for this kinde of warre woulde be onely defensive and not offensive.

And questionles there is great hope and likelyhooode that by this kinde of meanes, we should bring to passe all effectes to our desired purposes: Considering that all straunge creatures, by constitution of nature, are rendred more tractable and easilier wunne for al assayes, by courtesie and myldnes, then by crueltie and roughnes: and therefore beeing a principle taught us by naturall reason, it is first to be put in ure.

For albeit as yet the Christians are not so throughlye furnished with the perfectnes of theyr language, either to expresse theyr mindes

The principall causes why this viage is undertaken.

The first kinde of Planting.

¹ Omitted by Hakluyt, III (1600), 169.

to them, or againe to conceive the Savages intent. Yet for the present opportunitie, such pollicie may be used by freendly signes, and courteous tokens towards them, as the Savages may easily perceive, (were they sences never so grosse) as an assured freendship to be offered them and that they are encountered with such a nation as bring them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquillity and safetie. To further this, and to accomplish it in deedes, there must be presented unto them gratis, some kindes of our prittie merchaundizes and trifles: As looking Glasses, Bells, Beades, Braceletts, Chaines, or Collers of Bewgle, Christall, Amber, Jett, or Glasse etc. For such be the things, though to us of small value, yet accounted by them of high price and estimation: and soonest will induce theyr Barbarous natures to a likeing and a mutuall society with us.

Moreover, it shall be requisite, either by speeche, if it bee possible, either by some other certaine meanes, to signifie unto them. That once league of freendshippe, with all loving conversation, beeing admitted betweene the Christians and them: that then the Christians from thence forth will alwayes bee ready with force of Armes to assiste and defende them in theyr just quarrelles, from all invasions, spoyles and oppressions, offered or to bee offered them by any Tyraunts, Adversaries, or theyr next borderers: and a benefit is so much the more to be esteemed, by how much the person uppon whome it is bestowed standeth in neede thereof.

This David Ingram was in this last journey with Sir Humphrey and is very desirous to be employed thether againe¹.

For it appeareth by the relation of a countreyman of ours, namely David Ingram, (who travelled in those countries xi. monethes and more) That the Savages generally for the most part, are at continuall warres wyth their next adjoyning neighbours, and especially the Canniballs, beeing a cruell kinde of people, whose foode is mans flesh, and have teeth like dogges, and doo pursue them with ravenous myndes to eate theyr flesh, and devoure them.

And it is not to be doubted, but that the Christians may in this case justly and lawfully ayde the Savages against the Canniballs. So that it is very likelie that by this means wee shall not onely mightely stirre and inflame theyr rude myndes gladly to embrace the loving companie of the Christians, proffering unto them bothe commodities succor, and kindnes. But also by theyr francke consents, shall easily enjoy such competent quantity of Lande, as every way shall be correspondent to the Christians expectation, and contentation, considering the great abundance that they have of Lande, and howe small account they make thereof. Taking no other fruits thereby then

¹ Omitted by Hakluyt, III (1600), 169.

such as the ground of itselfe dooth naturally yeelde. And thus much concerning the first sort of planting, which as I assuredly hope, so I most hartelie pray may take effect and place.

But if after these good and fayre meanes used, the Savages nevertheles will not be heerewithall satisfied, but barbarously wyll goe about to practise violence either in repelling the Christians from theyr Portes and safe Landinges or in withstanding them afterwarde to enjoye the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they have adventured themselves thether.

*The
second
kinde of
Planting.*

Then in such a case I holde it no breache of equitie for the Christians to defende themselves, to pursue revenge with force, and to doo whatsoever is necessary for the attayning of theyr safety: For it is allowable by all Lawes in such distresses, to resist violence with violence. And for theyr more securitie to increase their strength by building of fortes, for avoyding the extremities of injurious dealing.

Wherein if also they shall not be suffered in reasonable quietnes to continue, there is no barre (as I judge) but that in stoute assemblies, the Christians may issue out, and by strong hande pursue theyr enemies, subdue them, take possession of theyr Townes, Cities, or Villages, (and in avoyding murtherous tyranny) to use the Lawe of Armes, as in like case among all nations at thys day is used: and most especially to the ende they may with securitie holde theyr lawfull possession, least happily after the departure of the Christians, such Savages as have beene converted, shoulde afterwarde through compulsion and enforcment of theyr wicked Rulers, returne to theyr horrible Idolatry (as did the children of Israell, after the decease of Josua) and continue theyr wicked custome of most unnaturall sacrificing of humaine creatures. *Judges. 6¹.*

And in so dooing, doubtles the Christians shall no whitt at all transgresse the bondes of equitie or civillity, for as much as in former ages, (yea before the incarnation of Christ) the like hath beene doon by sundry Kings and Princes, Governors of the children of Israell: cheefely in respect to beginne theyr Planting, for the establishment of Gods word: as also since the nativity of Christ, myghty and puissaunt Emperours and Kinges have performed the like, I say to plant, possesse, and subdue. For prooffe whereof, I wyll alledge you examples of bothe tymes.

We reade in the olde testament, howe that after Noes fludde was ceased, restoration of mankinde began onely of these few of Noes children and family as were by God prelected to be saved in the

¹ Omitted by Hakluyt, III (1600), 170.

Arke with him, whose seede in processe of time, was multiplyed to infinite numbers of nations, which in divers sortes devided themselves to sundry quarters of the earth. And forasmuch as all the posteritie being mightely encreased followed not the perfect lyfe of Noe theyr predicesor, God chose out of the multitude, a peculiar people to himselfe, to whome afterwarde beeing under the government of Moises in Mount Synay, hee made a graunt to inherite the Lande of Canaan, called the Land of Promise, with all th'other rich and fertile Countreyes next adjoyning therunto. Neverthelesse, before they came to possession therof, having beene afflicted with many greivous punishments and plagues for theyr sinnes, they fell in dispayre to enjoy the same.

But beeing encouraged and comforted by theyr Rulers, (men of God) they proceeded, arming themselves with all patience, to suffer what soever it shoulde please God to sende: and at last attaining to the Lande, they were encountered with great numbers of strong people and myghtye Kinges.

Josua. 4. Notwithstanding Josua theyr leader, replenished with the spirite of God, beeing assured of the justnes of his quarrell, gathered the cheefe strength of the children of Israell together, to the number of 40000, with whom he safely passed the huge River Jourden, and having before sent privie spyes for the discovery of the famous
Josua. 6. Cittie Jerico, to understand the certaintie of the Cittizens estate, he forthwith came thether, and environed it rounde aboute, with his whole power the space of sveen dayes.

In which respite, perceiving none of the Gentiles disposed to yeeld or call for mercie, he then commaunded (as God before had appointed) that both the Cittie Jericho should be burned, yea, and all the inhabitaunts, as well olde as young, with all their cattell, should be destroied, onelie excepted Rahab, her kindred and Familie, because she before had hid secretly the messengers of Josua, that were sent thether as spies. As for all their golde, silver, precious stones, or vesselles of brasse, they were reserved and consecrated to the Lords treasure.

Josua. 8. In like manner he burned the cittie Hay, slew the inhabitants thereof, and hanged up their King. But for so much as the Gebionites (fearing the like event) sent Ambassadors unto Josua, to intreate for grace, favour, and peace: he commaunded that all their lives should be saved, and that they should be admitted to the companie of the
Josua. 9. children of Israel. Yet understanding afterwards they wrought this by a pollicie, he used them as drudges to hewe wood and to carie

water, and other necessities for his people. Thus beganne this valiaunt Captaine his conquest, which he pursued and never left till he had subdued all the Hethites, Amorites, Cananites, Pheresites, Hevites, and Jebusites, with all their Princes and Kings, being thirtie and one in number, and divers other straunge Nations besides, whose lands and dominions, he wholie devided among Gods people.

Judg.
II. 13.

After that Josua was deceased, Juda was constituted Lord over the Armie, who receiving like charge from God pursued the proceedings of the holie Captaine Josua, and utterlie vanquished many Gentiles, Idolaters, and adversaries to the children of Israel, with all such Rulers or Kings, as withstoode him, and namely, Adonibezek, the most cruell tyraunt: whose thombes and great toes he caused to be cut off, for so much as he had doon the like before unto seventy Kings, whome being his prisoners, he forced to gather up their virtualles underneath his Table. In this God shewed his justice to revenge tyranny. We reade likewise, that Gideon a most puissant and noble warrier, so behaved himself in following the woorthy actes of Josua and Juda, That in short time he not onely delivered the children of Israel from the hands of the multitude of the fierce Madianites, but also subdued them and their Tyrants, whose landes he caused Gods people to possesse and inherite.

Judg. 1.

*A good
note for
all Con-
querers to
be merci-
full.*

Judges.
6. 7.

I could recite divers other places out of the Scripture, which aptly may be applied heerunto were it not I do endeavour my selfe by all meanes to be breefe. Now in like manner will I alledge some few of Inductions out of the autenticall writings of the Ecclesiasticall Historiographers, all tending to the like argument. And first to begin with all, we doo reade That after our saviour Jesus Christ had suffered his passion. The apostles being inspired with the holy Ghost, and the knowledge of all straunge languages, did immediatly disperse themselves to sundrie partes of the world, to the preaching of the Gospell. Yet not in so generall manner, but that there remained some farre remote Countries unvisited by them, among which is reported that India the great, called the uttermost India, as yet had received no light of the word. But it came to passe, that one Metrodorus, a verie learned and wise Philosopher in that age, being desirous to search out unknowne landes, did first discover the same, finding it wonderful populous and rich, which uppon his returne being published, and for certaine understoode, there was another grave

*India the
great, not
preached
unto by
the
Apostles.
Metro-
dorus the
Philo-
sopher,
first dis-
covered
that
India¹.*

¹ Omitted by Hakluyt, III (1600), 171. He adds reference 'Ruffinus lib. 1, cap. 9'.

*Meropius*¹ Philosopher of Tyrus called Meropius, being a christian, who did resolve himselfe (folowing the example of Metrodorus) to travaile thether, and in a short time assisted but with a fewe, in a small Vessell arrived there, having in his company two young youthes, *Edesius and Frumentius*². Edesius, and Frumentius, whome (being his schollers) he had throughly instructed, both in lyberall Sciences and christian Religion. Now after that Meropius somewhile staying there, had (as he thought) sufficient understanding of the Indians whole estate. He determined to depart, and to bring notice thereof unto the Emperor, whom he meant to exhort to the conquest of the same. But by misfortune he was prevented, for being in the midst of his course on the Sea homeward, a sore tempest arose, and perforce drove him backe againe, to an unknowne Port of the saide lande: where he by the most cruell barbarous Indians on the suddaine was slaine with all his company, except the two young schollers aforesaide, whome the barbarous Indians, by reason they were of comely stature and beautifull personages, tooke foorthwith and presented them to theyr King and Queene: which both being verie well lyked of, the King courteously entreated, and ordeined Edesius to be his Butler, and Frumentius his Secretary, and in few yeeres by reason of their learning and civill gouvernement, they were had in great favour, honour and estimation with the Princes. But the King departing this life, left the Queene his wife with her young sonne to governe, and gave free scope and lybertie to the two christians, at their best pleasure to passe to their native soyles, allowing them all necessities for the same. Yet the Queene who highly favoured them, was verie sorowful they should depart, and therefore most earnestlie intreated them to tarie and assist her in the gouvernement of her people, tyll such tymes as her young Sonne grewe to rype yeeres, which request they fulfilled.

Frumentius in great favour with the Queene of the Indians.

And Frumentius excelling Edesius farre in all wisdom, ruled both the Queene and her subjects at his discretion, whereby he tooke occasion to put in practise privilie, that the foundation of christian religion might be planted in the hearts of such as with whome he thought his perswasion might best prevaile, and that soonest would give eare unto him, which being brought to passe accordingly, he then with his fellow Edesius, tooke leave of the Queene to returne to his native countrie. And so soone as he was arrived there, he revealed

¹ Hakluyt (III (1600), 171) has 'Meropius slaine'.

² Hakluyt (III (1600), 171) has 'Edesius and Frumentius preserved by the Indians'.

to the Emperor Constantine, the effect of all those events: who both commending his deeds and wholie allowing thereof, by the advise and good liking of Athanasius then Bishop of Alexandria, did arme and set foorth a convenient power for the aide of Frumentius, in this his so godlie a purpose. And by this meanes came the Emperor afterwarde by faire promises, and by force of Armes together, unto the possession of all the Indians countrie. The auctor of this storie Ruffinus received the trueth heereof, from the verie mouth of Edesius companion to Frumentius.

Moreover, Eusebius in his Historie Ecclesiasticall in precise termes, and in divers places maketh mencion how Constantine the great, not onelie enlarged his Empire by the subduing of his next neighbours, but also endeavored by all meanes, to subject all such remote Barbarous and Heathen nations, as then inhabited the fowre quarters of the world. For (as it is written) the Emperor throughlie aided with a puisaunt armie of valiaunt souldiers whom he had before perswaded to christian religion, in proper person himselfe, came even unto this our native Countrie of England, then called the Island of Brittaines, bending from him full west, which he wholie conquered, made tributarie, and settled therein christian faith, and left behinde him such Rulars thereof, as to his wisdome seemed best. From thence he turned his force towards the North coast of the world, and there utterlie subdued the rude and cruell Nation of the Scithians, whereof part by freendly perswasions, part by maine strength, he reduced the whole to christian Faith. Afterwarde he determined with himselfe to search out what straunge people inhabited in the uttermost partes of the South. And with great hazard and labour, making his journey thether, at last became victor over them all, even to the countrie of the Blemmyans, and the remote Etheopians, that now are the people of Presbiter John, who yet tyl this daie, continue and beare the name of christians.

In the East likewise, what Nation soever at that time he could have notice off, he easilie wunne and brought in subjection to the Empire. So that to conclude, there was no region in any part of the world, the inhabitaunts wherof being Gentiles, though unknowne unto him. But in time he overcame and vanquished.

This woorthy beginning of Constantine, both his sonnes succeeding his roome, and also divers other Emperors afterward to their uttermost endeavor followed and continued, which all the Bookes of Eusebius more at large setteth foorth. Theodoritus likewise in his Ecclesiasticall historie maketh mencion how Theodosius the vertuous

An other great work of God begun by a man of meane birth.

Ruffinus. the Author of this storie.

Euseb. in ecclesiasticall history testifieth howe that Constantine the great, did enlarge his dominions by subduing of Infidels and Idolatrous nations. Eusebius lib 1. de vita Constant. Cap. 4. et Cap. 9. Eu. eod lib. Cap. 39.

Theodarit in Ecclesiast. Hist. lib. 5. Cap. 20.

*Theodari-
tus cap. 26
eod. libro.*

Emperour, emploied earnestlie all his time, as well in conquering the Gentiles to the knowledge of the holie Gospel, utterlie subverting the prophane Temples and abhominable Idolatry. As also in extinguishing of such usurping tiraunts, as with Paganisme withstoode the planting of christian religion. After whose decease his sonnes, Honorius, and Arcadius, were created Emperors, the one of the East, the other of the West, who with all stoutly godlines, most carefully imitated the foresteps of their Father, eyther in enlarging their territories, or increasing the christian flocke.

Moreover, it is reported by the saide auctor, that Theodotius Junior the Emperour, no whit inferiour in vertuous life to any of the above named Princes, with great study and zeale pursued, prosecuted the Gentiles, subdued theyr Tyraunts and Countries, and utterly destroyed all their Idolatry, converting their soules to acknowledge their onelie Messias and Creator, and their countries to the enlargement of the Empire. To be breefe, who so listeth to reade Eusebius, Pamphilus, Socrates Scolasticus, Theodoritus, Hermia, Sozomen, and Eragrius Scolasticus, which all were most sage Ecclesiastical writers, shall finde great store of examples of the woorthy lives of sundry Emperors, tending all to the confirmation of my former speeches.

And for like examples of latter time (yea, even in the memory of man) I shall not neede to recite any other then the conquest made of the West and East Indies, by the Kings of Spaine and Portugall, whereof there is particular mencion made in the last chapiter of this Booke. Heerein have I used more copy of examples, then otherwise I would have doone, saving that I have beene in place where this maner of planting the christian Fath, hath beene thought of some to be scarce lawfull, yea, such as doo take upon them to be more then meanelly learned. To these examples could I joyne many more but whosoever is not satisfied with these fewe, may satisfie himselfe in reading at large the aucthors last above recited Thus have I (as I trust) proved that we may justly trade and traffique with the Savages, and lawfullie plant and inhabite theyr Countries.

The third Chapter dooth shewe the lawfull tytyle, which the Queenes most excellent Majestie hath unto those Countries, which through the ayde of almightie God are mente to be inhabited.

AND it is very evident that the planting there shall in time right amplie enlarge her Majesties Territories and Dominions (or I might rather say) restore her to her Highnesse auncient right and interest in those Countries, into the which a noble and woorthy personage, lyneally descended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Madocke ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God. 1170. arrived and there planted himselfe, and his Colonies, and afterward returned himselfe into England, leaving certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an auncient Welch Chronicle, where he then gave to certaine Ilandes, Beastes, and Fowles, sundrie Welch names, as the Iland of Pengwyn, which yet to this day beareth the same.

Owen Gwyneth, was then Prince of Northwales. This Iland was discovered by Sir Humfrey and his company, in this his last journey.

There is lykewise a Fowle in the sayde Countries, called by the same name at this daye, and is as much to saye in Englishe, as White-headde, and in trueth, the sayde Fowles have white heads.

There is also in those Countries a fruite called Gwynethes which is likewise a welch word. Moreover, there are divers other welch wordes at this dite in use, as David Ingram aforesaide reporteth in his relations. All which most strongly argueth, the saide Prince with his people to have inhabited there. And the same in effect is confirmed by Mutuzuma that mightie Emperor of Mexico, who in an Oration unto his subjects, for the better pacifying of them, made in the presence of Hernando Curtese, used these speeches following.

Who hath also seene berded men there, which can not bee naturall cuntrimen, for that the Americans are voide of beardes¹.

My kinsemen, freends, and servaunts, you do well know that eightene yeeres I have been your King, as my Fathers and Grandfathers were, and alwaies I have beene unto you a loving Prince, and you unto me good and obedient subjects, and so I hope you will remaine unto me all the daies of my life. You ought to have in remembraunce, that eyther you have heard of your Fathers, or else our divines have instructed you that we are not naturallie of this Countre, not yet our Kingdome is durable, because our Forefathers came from a farre countre, and their King and Captaine who brought them hither, returned againe to his natural countre, saying, that he

Mutuzuma his Oration to his subjects in presence of Hernando Curtese. which Oration was made about the yeere 1520.

¹ Omitted by Hakluyt, III (1600), 173.

would send such as should rule and governe us, if by chaunce he himselfe returned not, etc.

*Looke the
conquest
of West
Indias
fol. 231^r.*

These be the verie words of Mutuzuma, set downe in the Spanish Chronicles, the which being throughlie considered, because they have relation to some straunge noble person, who long before had possessed those Countries, doo all sufficientlie argue, the undoubted title of her Majestie: For as much as no other Nation can truelie by any Chronicles they can finde, make prescription of time for themselves, before the time of this Prince Madocke. Besides all this, for further prooffe of her highnes title sithence the arrivall of this noble Britton into those partes (that is to say) in the time of the Queenes Majesties Grandfather, of worthy memorie, King Henry the seventh, Letters pattents were by his Majestie graunted to John Gabota an Italian, to Lewes, Sebastian, and Sansius, his three sonnes, to discover remoate, Barbarous and Heathen Countries, which discovery, was afterwards executed to the use of the crown of England, in the sayd Kings time, by Sebastian and Sansius his sonnes, who were borne heere in Englande: In true testimony whereof, there is a fayre Haven in Newfounde Land, knowne and called until this day, by the name of Sansius Haven, which prooveth that they firste discovered upon that Coast, from the heyght of 63. unto the Cape of Florida, as appeareth in the Decades.

*Ma.
Oliver
Dalbony.
Ma.
Edward
Reow.
Ma.
R. H.
Ma. J. A.*

And this may stande for another title to her Majestie, but any of the foresayde titles is as much, or more then any other Christian Prince can pretende to the Indies before suche time as they had actuall possession thereof, obteyned by the discovery of Christopher Columnus, and the conquest of Vasques Numes de Balboa, Hernando Cortese, Francisco Pysare, and others, And therefore I thinke it needeles to write any more touching the lawfulness of her Majesties title.

The fourth Chapter sheweth, howe that the trade traficke and planting in those Countries, is likely to proove very profitable to the whole Realme in generall.

NOW to shewe howe the same is most likely to proove very profitable and beneficiall generallie to the whole Realme. It is verie certaine, that the greatest Jewell of this Realme, and the cheefest strength and force of the same, for defence or offence, in martiall matter and manner is the multitude of Shippes, Maisters

¹ Omitted by Hakluyt.

and Marriners, ready to assist the moste stately and royall Navie of her Majestie, which by reason of this voyage shall have, both increase and maintenaunce. And it is well knowne, that in sundry places of this Realme, Shippes have beene built and sette foorth of late dayes for the trade of fishing onely: Yet not withstanding the fishe which is taken and brought into England by the English Navie of Fishermen, will not suffice for the expence of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of straungers. And the cheefest cause why our Englishmen doo not goe so farre westerly, as the especial fishing places doo lie, both for plenty and greatnes of fish, is for that they have no succour and known safe harbour in those partes. But if our nation were once planted there, or neere thereabouts: whereas they now fish but for two moneths in the yeere, they myght then fish so long as pleased themselves or rather at theyr comming find such plenty of Fish readie taken, salted and dryed, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay, (God graunting that salt may be found there) whereof David Ingram (who travelled in those Countries as aforesayde) saith that there is great plentie: and withall the Climate dooth give greate hope, that though there were none naturallie growing, yet it might aswell be made there by arte, as it is both in Rochell and Bayon, or els where. Which beeing brought to passe, shall encrease the number of our ships and Marriners, were it but in respect of fishing onelie: but much more in regarde of the sundry Marchaundises and commodities which are there founde and had in greate abundance.

*Cox the
Maister¹.*

Moreover, it is wel known that all Savages, as wel those that dwell in the South, as those that dwell in the North, so soone as they shall begin but a little to taste of civillitie, will take mervailous delight in any garment be it never so simple: As a shirt, a blewe, yellow, redde, or greene Cotten cassocke, a Cappe or such like, and will take incredible paynes for such a trifle.

For I my selfe have heard this reporte made sundrye times, by divers of our Countrey men, who have dwelt in the sotherly partes, of the West Indies, some 12. yeeres together, and some of lesse time: That the people in those partes, are easily reduced to civilitie bothe in manners and garments. Which beeing so, what vente for our English clothes will thereby ensue, and howe greate benefit to all such persons and Artificers whose names are coated in the margent, I doo leave to the judgment of such as are discrete.

*Clothiers.
Wolmen.
Carders.
Spimmers.
Weavers.
Fullers.
Sheremen.
Diers.
Drapers.
Clothiers.
Cappers*

And questionles heereby it will also come to passe, that all such

¹ William Cox of Limehouse, master of the *Golden Hind*.

*Hatters.
etc. And
many
decayed
townes
repayred.*

Townes and Villages, as bothe have beene and nowe are utterlye decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof beeing not sette a worke by reason of the transportation of rawe Wooll of late dayes, more excessively then in tymes past) shall by this meanes be restored to theyr pristinate wealth and estate, all which doo likewise tende to the enlargement of our Navie and mayntenaunce of our navigation.

To what ende neede I endeavour my selfe by arguments to proove that by this voyage, our navie and navigation shall be enlarged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest and late example of the neere Neighbours to this Realme, the Kings of Spayne, and Portingall who since the first discovery of the Indias, have not onely mightily enlarged theyr dominions, greatly enriched themselves and theyr subjectes: but have also by just account trebbled the number of theyr Shippes, Maysters and Marriners, a matter of no small moment and importaunce.

*The ydle
persons of
this Realm
shall by
occasion of
this jour-
ney be wel
employed
and sette
on worke.*

Besides this, it will proove a generall benefite unto our Country, that through this occasion, not onely a greate number of men which doo nowe live ydly at home, and are burdenous, chargeable and unprofitable to this Realme, shall heereby be sette on worke, but also children of 12. or 14. yeeres of age or under, may bee kept from ydlenes, in making of a thousand Kindes of trifeling thinges, which will be good Marchandize for that Country. And moreover, our ydle women, (which the Realme may well spare) shal also bee employed on plucking, drying, and sorting of Feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of Hempe, and in gathering of Cotten, and dyvers things right necessary for dying. All which thinges are to bee found in those Countries most plentifully. And the men may imploy themselves in dragging for Pearle, working for Mynes, and in matters of husbandry, and likewise in hunting the Whale for traine, and making Caskes to put the same in: besides, in fishing for Codde, Salmon and Herring, drying, salting, and barrelling the same, and felling of Trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like worke, meete for those persons as are no men of arte or science.

*Hempe
doth growe
neere
Saint
Lawrence
River
naturally.*

*Reade the
beginning
of the booke
intituled,
divers*

Many other thinges may be founde to the greate reliefe and good emploiem[en]ts of no small number, of the naturall subjectes of this Realme, which doo nowe live heere ydlelie to the common annoy of the whole state. Neither may I heere omitte the great hope and likelyhoode of a passage by the Graunde bay, into the South Seas, confirmed by sundrie Authours to be founde leading to Cataia, the Moluccos and Spiceries, whereby may ensue as general a benefite to

the Realme or greater, then yet hath beene spoken off, without
 eyther such charges, or other inconveniences, as by the tedious tract
 of time and perrill, which the ordinarie passage to those partes at
 this day doth minister. And to conclude this argument withall, it is
 well knowne to all men of sounde judgement, that this voyage is of
 greater importaunce, and will be founde more beneficiall to our
 Countrey, then all other voyages at this day in use and trade amongst
 us.

*voyages
 touching
 the dis-
 covery of
 America.*

The fift Chapiter sheweth, that the trading and planting in those
 Countries is likely to proove, to the perticuler profit of all the¹
 Adventurers.

I MUST nowe according to my promise shew forth some pro-
 bable reasons, that the adventurers in this journey, are to take
 perticuler profite by the same. It is therefore convenient that I
 doo devide the Adventurers into two sortes: The Noble men and
 Gentlemen by themselves, and the Marchaunts by themselves. For
 as I doo heare, it is meant that there shalbe one societie of the Noble
 men and Gentlemen, and another society of the Marchants. And yet
 not so devided, but that eache society may freely and franckly trade
 and traficke one with the other.

And first to bende my speeche to the Noblemen and Gentlemen,
 who doo cheefely seeke a temperate climate, wholesome ayre, fertile
 soyle, and a strong place by nature, whereupon they may fortifie, and
 there either plant themselves, or such other persons as they shall
 thinke good to sende to be Lordes of that place and Countrey: To
 them I say that all these thinges are very easye to be founde within
 the degrees of 30. and 60. aforesayde, eyther by Southe or North,
 both in the Continent, and in Islands thereunto adjoyning at theyr
 choyse: But the degree certaine of the elevation of the Pole and the
 very Climate where these places of force and fertilitie are to be
 founde, I omitte to make publique, for such regarde as the wiser sort
 can easily conjecture: the rather because I doo certainly understand,
 that some of those which have the managing of this matter, knowe it
 as well or better then I my selfe, and doo meane to reveale the same
 when cause shall require, to such persons whom it shall concerne and
 to no other: So that they may seate and settle themselves in such
 Climate as shal best agree with their owne nature, disposition, and
 good likeing: and in the whole tract of that land, by the discription of

¹ 'the' omitted by Hakluyt, III (1600), 174.

as many as have beene there, great plentie of minerall matter of all sortes, and in verye many places bothe stones of price, Pearle, and Christall, and great store of Beastes, Byrdes, and Fowles both for pleasure and necessarie use of man is to be founde.

*Beastes
for
pleasure.*

And for such as take delight in hunting, there are Stagges, Wild Bores, Foxes, Hares, Conneys, Badgers, Otters, and divers other such like for pleasure. Also for such as have delight in Hawking, there are Hawkes of sundry kindes, and great store of game, both for Land and River, as Feazaunts, Partridges, Cranes, Heronshawes, Duckes Mallardes, and such like. There is also a kinde of Beaste, much bigger then an Oxe, whose hyde is more then 18. foote long, of which sorte a Countriman of ours, one Walker a Sea man, who was uppon that Coast, did for a trueth reporte, in the presence of divers honourable and worshipfull persons, that he and his company did finde in one Cottage above 240. Hides. which they brought away and solde in Fraunce for xl. shillings an hyde, and with this agreeth David Ingram, and discribeth that beast at large, supposing it to be a certaine kinde of Buffe: there are likewise beastes and fowles of divers kindes, which I omitte for brevities sake, great store of fish both in the salt water and in the fresh, plentie of Grapes as bigge as a mans thombe, and the most delicate Wine of the Palmetree, of which wine there be divers of good credit in this realm have tasted: and there is also a kind of graine called Maize, Potato rootes, and sundry other fruites naturall growing there: so that after such time as they are once settled, they shall neede to take no great care for victuall.

*Hides
solde for
xl. shil-
lings
apece.
Great
Grapes.
Wine of
the Palm-
tree.*

And nowe for the better contentation and satisfaction of such worshipful, honest minded, and wel disposed Marchants, as have a desire to the furtherance of every good and commendable action, I wil first say unto them, as I have doon before to the Noble men and Gentlemen, that within the degrees above sayde, is doubtles to be founde, the moste holesom and best tempature of ayre, fertillitie of soile, and every other commoditie or marchaundize, for the which, with no smal perril we doo travaill into Barbery, Spayne, Portingall, Fraunce, Italie, Muscovie and Dansike. All which may be either presently had, or at the least wise in verye shorte time, procured from thence with lesse danger then now we have them. And yet to the ende my argument shall not altogether stand uppon likelihooedes and presumptions, I say that such persons as have discovered and travailed those partes doo testifie, that they have founde in those Countries, all these thinges following, namelie.

| | | | |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| <i>Of Beastes for fures.</i> | <i>Of Byrdes.</i> | Margaus. | <i>Of Trees.</i> |
| Martens. | Hawkes. | Blackbirds. | Palme trees |
| Beavers. | Bitters. | Parrotts. | yeelding |
| Foxes blacke and white. | Curlewes. | Pengwyns. | sweete wines. |
| Leopardes. | Herons. | <i>Of Fishes.</i> | Cedars. |
| | Partridges. | | Fyrres. |
| | Cranes. | Codd. | Sasafras. |
| <i>Of Wormes.</i> | Mallards. | Salmon. | Oake. |
| Silkeworms | Wildgeese. | Seales. | Elme. |
| great and large | Stockdoves. | Herrings. | Popler. |
| And sundry other strange Trees, to us unknowne. | | | |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| <i>Of Fruites.</i> | <i>Of Mettalles.</i> | <i>Sundry other commodities of all sortes.</i> | Tallowe. |
| | Golde. | | Hydes. |
| Grapes, verie large. | Sylver. | | Hempe: |
| Muskemellons. | Copper. | | Flaxe. |
| Limons. | Leade. | Rosen. | Chuchenelle |
| Dates great. | Tinne. | Pitch. | and Dies |
| Orrenges. | <i>Of Stones.</i> | Tarre. | of divers sortes. |
| Figges. | Turkeis. | Turpentine. | |
| Prounes. | Rubies. | Frankensence | |
| Reisons, great and small. | Pearles, great and faire. | Honny. | Feathers of sundry sorts, |
| Pepper. | Marble, of diuers kinds. | Waxe. | as for pleasure and fill- |
| Almonds. | Jasper. | Rubarbe. | ing of Featherbeddes. |
| Citrons. | Christall. | Oyle Oliffe. | |
| | | Traine Oyle. | |
| | | Musk codde. | |
| | | Salte. | |

And seeing that for small costes, the truth of these thinges may be understoode (wherof this intended supply wil give us more certaine assuraunce) I doo find no cause to the contrarie, but that all wel minded persons should be willing to adventure some convenient portion, for the furtheraunce of so good an enterprise.

Now for the triall heereof, considering that in the Articles of the Societie of the adventurers in this voiage, there is provision made, that no adventurer shalbe bound to any further charge then his first adventure: and yet notwithstanding keepe styl to himselfe, his children, his apprentices and servants, his and their freedome for trade and traficke which is a priviledge that Adventurers in other

voiaiges have not: and in the saide articles it is likewise provided, that none other then such as have adventured in the first voiage, or shall become adventurers in this supply, at any time heerafter are to be admitted in the said society, but as Redemptionaries, which wil be very chargeable: Therefore generally I say unto all such according to the old Proverb, Nothing venture, Nothing have. For if it do so fal out, according to the great hope and expectation had (as by Gods grace it wil) the gaine which now they reape by traffique into other farre Countries, shall by this trade returne with lesse charge, greater gaine, and more safety: Lesse charge I say, by reason of the ample and large deepe Rivers at the verie banke, wherof there is many, wherby both easily and quietly they may transport from the innermost partes of the maine land, all kind of merchandize, yea, in Vessels of great burden, and that three times, or twise in the yeere at the least. But let us omit all presumptions how vehement soever, and dwel upon the certainty of such commodities as were discovered and found by Sir Humfrey Gilbert, and his assistants in Newfoundland, in August last. For there may be very easily made, Pitch, Tarre, Rosen, Sope ashes, in great plenty, yea, as it is thought inough to serve the whole Realme of every of these kindes. And of Traine Oyle such quantity, as if I should set downe the value that they doo esteeme it at, which have been there, it would seeme incredible.

*Commo-
dities
found in
August
last.*

It is heerby intended, that these commodities in this abountaunt manner, are not to be gathered from thence, without Planting and setling there. And as for other thinges of more value, and that of more sortes and kinds then one or two, (which were likewise discovered there) I doo hold it for some respects, more meet for a time to be concealed and uttered.

Of the Fishing I doo speake nothing, because it is generally known: And it is not to be forgotten, what very trifles they be that the Savages doo require in exchaunge of these commodities: yea for Pearle, Gold, Silver, and precious stones. All which are matters in trade and traffique of great moment. But admit that it shold so fal out, that the above specified commodities, shall not happely be found out within this first yeere. Yet it is very cleere that such and so many may be found out as shall minister just occasion to thinke al cost and labor well bestowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one seate fit for fortification, of great safety, wherin these commodities following, especially are to be had, that is to say, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage and other necessary thinges, and Fish of farre greater sise and plenty, then that of Newfoundland,

and of all these so great store as may suffice to serve our whole Realme.

Besydcs all this if credite, may be given to the Inhabitaunts of the same Soyle, a certaine River dooth thereunto adjoyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with ritch substaunce: I doo not heereby meane the passadge to the Moluchos, whereof before I made mencion.

And it is not to be omitted, howe that about two yeeres past, certaine Marchaunts of S. Mallowes in Fraunce, dyd hire a Shippe out of the Island of Jersey, to the ende that they would keepe that trade secrete from theyr Countreimen, and they would admit no Mariner other then the Ship boy belonging to the sayd Shippe to goe with them. which Ship was about 70. Tunne. I doo knowe the Ship and the boy very well, and am familiarly acquainted with the Owner, which voyage prooved very beneficiall.

To conclude, this which is already saide, may suffice any man of reasonable disposition to serve for a taste, untill such tyme as it shall please almightie God through our owne industrie, to send us better tydings. In the meane season, if any man well affected to this journey, shal stand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the same, he may satisfie himselfe with the judgement and lyking of those of good calling and credite, as are principall dealers heerein. For it is not necessary in this treatise, publickly to sette foorth the whole secretes of the voyage.

The sixt Chapter, sheweth that the Traffique and Planting in those Countries, shall be unto the Savages themselves verie beneficiall and gainefull.

NOW to the end it may appeare, that this voiage is not undertaken altogether for the peculiar commoditie of our selves, and our Countrie, (as generallie other trades and journeies be) it shall fall out in prooffe, that the Savages shal heerby have just cause to blesse the howre, when this enterprise was undertaken.

First and cheefly, in respect of the most happy and gladsome tydings of the most gracious Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falsehood to truth, from darknes to lyght, from the hieway of death, to the path of life, from superstitious idolatry, to sincere christianity, from the devill to Christ, from hell to Heaven. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yeeld us (were they many moe) that they should

but receyve this only benefite of christianity, they were more then fully recompenced.

2. Cor. 9. But heerunto it may be objected, that the Gospel must be freely preached, for such was the example of the Apostles, unto whom although the auctorities and examples before alledged, of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, as wel before Christes time as since, might sufficiently satisfie: Yet for further aunswer, we may say with Saint Paule. If we have sowed unto you heavenlie thinges, doo you thinke it much that we should reape your carnall thinges? And withall, The workman is worthy of his hier. These heavenly tydings which those labourers our countrey men (as messengers of Gods great goodnes and mercy) wyl voluntarily present unto them, dooth farre exceed their earthly ritches. Moreover, if the other inferior worldlie, and temporall thinges, which they shal receive from us, be waied in equal balance, I assure my selfe, that by equall judgement of any indifferent person, the benefites which they then receive, shall far surmount those which they shall depart withall unto us. And admitte that they had (as they have not) the knowledge to put theyr land to some use: Yet being brought from brutish ignoraunce, to civility and knowledge, and made them to understand how the tenth part of their land may be so manured and emploied, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary use of mans life, then the whole now dooth: What just cause of complaint may they have? And in my private opinion, I doo verily think that God did create lande, to the end that it shold by Culture and husbandrie, yeeld things necessary for mans lyfe.

The bargaine can not be unjust, where both parties are gainers.

But this is not all the benefit which they shall receive by the christians, for, over and beside the knowledge how to tyl and dresse their grounds, they shalbe reduced from unseemly customes, to honest maners, from disordred riotous rowtes and companies, to a wel governed common wealth, and withall shalbe taught mecanicall occupations, artes, and lyberal Sciences: and which standeth them most upon, they shalbe defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and blood sucking neighbors, the Canniballes, wherby infinite number of their lives shalbe preserved. And lastly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent children shalbe preserved from the bloody knife of the sacrificer, a most horrible and detestable custome in the sight of God and man, now and ever heertofore used amongst them. Many other thinges could I heere alledge to this purpose, were it not that I doo feare least I have already more then halfe tired the Reader.

The seaventh Chapter sheweth that the Planting there, is not a matter of such charge or diffycultie, as many would make it seeme to be.

NOW therefore for prooffe, that the Planting in these parts is a thing that may be doone without the aide of the Princes power and purse, contrarye to the allegation of many malicious persons, who will neither be actors in any good action themselves, nor so much as afoord a good word to the setting forward therof: and that wurse, is they wyl take upon them to make Mole-hylles seeme Mountaines, and flies Elephants, to the end they may discourage others, that be verye well or indifferently affected to the matter, being like unto Esoppes Dogge which neither would eate haie himself, nor suffer the poore hungry asse to feede thereon.

I say and affirme that God hath provided such meanes for the furtheraunce of this enterprise, as doth stande us in steede of great treasure: for first by reason that it hath pleased God of his great goodnesse, of long time to holde his merciful hand over this Realme, in preserving the people of the same, both from slaughter by the sword, and great death by plague, pestilence, or otherwise, there is at this day great numbers (God he knoweth) which live in such penurie and want, as they could be contented to hazarde their lives, and to serve one yeere for meate, drinke, and apparel, onely without wages, in hope thereby to amend theyr estates: which is a matter in such lyke journeis, of no small charge to the Prince. Moreover, thinges in the lyke journeis of greatest price and cost, as victual (whereof there is great plenty to bee had in that countrye without money) and powder, great artillery, or Corselets, are not needful, in so plentiful and chargeable manner, as the shew of such a journey, may present, for a smal quantity of all these to furnish the Forte onely wyl suffice, untill such time as divers commodities may be found out in those parts, which may be thought wel woorthy a greater charge. Also the peculiar benefite of Archers which God hath blessed this land withal, before al other nations, will stand us in great stede amongst those naked people.

Another helpe we have also, which in such lyke cases is a matter of mervailous cost, and wil be in this journey procured very easily (that is to say) To transport yeerely as wel our people, as al other necessities, needful for them into those parts by the Fleete of Merchants, that yeerely venture for Fish in Newfound Land, being not farre distaunt from the countrey, meant to be inhabited, who com-

monly go with empty Vesselles in effect, saving some lyttle fraught with Salt. And thus it appeareth that the Souldiers wages, and the transportation may be defrayed for farre lesse summes of money, then the detractors of this enterprise have given out. Againe, this intended voiage for conquest, hath in lyke manner many other singular priviledges, wherewith God hath as it were, with his holy hand blessed the same before all others. For after once we are departed the coast of England, we may passe straight way thether, without daunger of being driven into any the countries of our enimies, or doubtfull freends, for commonly one winde serveth to bring us thether, which sildome faileth from the middle of Januarie, to the middle of Maie, a benefite which the Mariners make great account off, for it is a pleasure that they have in few or none of the other journies. Also, the passage is short, for we may go thither in thirty of forty daies at the most, having but an indifferent winde, and returne continually in sixteene or twenty dayes at the most. And in the same our journey, by reason it is in the Occean, and quite out of the way from the intercourse of other countries: we may safely trade and traffique, without perill of pyracie, neither shal our Ships, people, or goods, ther be subjecte to the arrest or molestation of any Pagan Potentate, Turkishe Tyrant, yea, or christian Prince, which heertofore, sometimes upon slender occasion in other parts, have staid our Shippes and marchaundizes, whereby great numbers of our Countreimen have beene utterly undoone, dyvers put to raunsome, yea and some lost their lives: a thing so fresh in memory as it needeth no prooffe, and well worthy of consideration.

Besides, in this voyage, we doo not crosse the burnt line, whereby commonly both beverage and victuall are corrupted, and mens health very much impaired, neither doo we passe the frozen Seas, which yeele sundrye extreme daungers: but have a temperate Climate at all times of the yeere, to serve our turnes. And lastly, there neede no delays by the way, for taking in of freshwater and Fewell, (a thing usually doone in long journeys) because as I said above, the voyage is not long, and the fresh waters taken in there, our men heere in England, at theyr returne home, have found so holesome and sweete, that they have made choise to drinke it before our Beere or Ale.

Beholde heere good Countreimen, the manifold benefites, commodities and pleasures heeretofore unknowne, by Gods especiall blessing not onelie revealed unto us, but also as it were infused into our bosomes, who though hetherto like Dormise have slumbered in ignoraunce thereof, beeing like the Cattes that are lothe for theyr

praye to wette their feete, yet if now therefore, at the last we would awake, and with willing mindes (setting frivolous imaginations aside) become industrious instruments to our selves, Questionles we shoulde not onely heereby set foorth the glorie of our heavenlie Father, but also easily attaine to the ende of all good purposes, that may be wished or desired.

And may it not much encourage us to hope for good successe in the countrey of these Savages, beeing a naked kinde of people, voyde of the knowledge of the discipline of warre, seeing that a Noble man, beeing but a subjecte in this Realme, (in the time of our King Henrie the second) by name Strangbowe, then Earle of Chepstowe in South Wales, by himselfe and his Alleis and assistaunts, at their owne proper charges, passed over into Ireland, and there made conquest of the nowe Countrey, and then kingdom of Lympter, at which time it was verie populous and strong; which historie, our owne Chronicles doo witnes. And why should we be dismaide. more then were the Spaniardes, who have beene able within these fewe yeeres, to conquer, possesse and enjoy, so large a tracte at the earth, in the west Indies, as is betweene the two Tropicks of Cancer and Capricorne, not onely in the maine firme lande of America, which is 47. degrees in latitude from South to North, and doth contain 2820. English miles at the least, that the King of Spayne hath there, in actual possession, besides many goodly and rich Islands, as Hispaniola, now called Sa. Domingo, Cuba, Jamica, and divers other, which are bothe beautiful and full of treasure, not speaking anie whitt at all, how large the saide Lande is from East to West, which in some places is accounted to be 1500. English miles at the least, from East to West, betweene the one Sea and the other.

Or why should our Noble nation be dismaide, more then was Vasques Numes de Balboa, a private Gentleman of Spayne, who with the number of 70. Spaniardes at Tichiri, gave an overthrow unto that mightie King Chemacchus, having an Armie of an hundred Canoas and 5000. men, and the sayde Vasques Numes not long after, with his small number, did put to flight King Chiapes his whole Armie.

Likewise Hernando Cortese, beeing also but a private Gentleman of Spayne, after his departure from the Islands of Cuba and Acusamill, and entring into the firme of America, had many most victorious and triumphant conquests, as that at Cyntla, where beeing accompanied with lesse then 500. Spanish footemen, thirteene Horsemen, and sixe peeces of Ordenaunce onely he overthrewe 40000 Indians

2. Decad.
lib 5. fo.
77. of the
West
Indes, in
English
Canoas is
a kinde of
boate.

3. Decad.
lib. 1. fol.
97.

About the
yeere of
our Lord,
1511.

*Conquest
of the
West
Indes
fol. 43 and
45. in
English.*

The same Cortese with his sayde number of Spaniardes, tooke prisoner that mightie Emperour Metezuma in his most cheefe and famous Cittie of Mexico, which at that instant had in it above the number of 500000. Indians at the least, and in short time after, obteyned not onelie the quiet possession of the saide Cittie, But also of his whole Empire.

*A mer-
velous
victorie.*

And in like manner in the Country of Peru, which the King of Spayne hath nowe in actual possession, Francisco Pysare, with the onelie ayde of Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luche, beeing all three but private Gentlemen was the principall person that first attempted the discoverie and conquest of the large and rich COUNTRYE of Peru, which through the ayde of the almighty, he brought to passe and atchived, in the Tambo of Casstamalcha, (which is a large place of ground, enclosed with walles) in which place he tooke the great and mightye Prince Attabalipa prisoner, amidst the number of 60000. Indians his subjectes, which were ever before that day accounted to bee a warlike kinde of people, which his great victory it pleased God to graunt unto him in the yeere of our Lorde 1533. he not having in his company above the number of 210. Spaniardes, whereof there was not past 60. horsemen in all: After the taking of which Prince, Attabalipa, he offered unto Pyszare for his raunsome, to fill a great large Hall ful of Golde and Silver, and such Gold and Silver vessels as they then used, even as hie as a man might reache with his arme. And the sayd Prince caused the same Hall to be marked rounde about at the sayde height, which raunsome Pyszara graunted to accept. And after when as thys mightie Prince had sent to his vassals and subjects to bring in Golde and Silver for the filling of the Hal, as aforesaid, as namelie to the Citties or Townes of Quito, Pacyacama and Cusco, as also to the Caloa of Lyma, in which Towne, as their owne writers doo affyrme, they founde a large and fayre house, all slated and covered with Golde: and when as the said Hal was not yet a quarter full, a mutenye arose amongst the Spaniardes, in which it was commonly given out, that the said Prince had politiquely offered this great raunsome under pretence to rayse a much more mightie power, whereby the Spaniardes should bee taken slayne, and overthrowne: whereuppon they grewe to this resolution, to put the sayd Prince to death, and to make particion of the gold and silver already brought in, which they presently put in execution. And comming to make perfect Inventory of the same, as well for the Emperor then King of Spayne, his fift parte as otherwise there was founde to be already brought in into the sayde Hall, the

number of 132425. pounce weight of silver, and in golde the number of 1828125. pezos, which was a riches never before that nor since seene of any man together, of which there did appertaine to the Emperor for his fyft parte of Golde 365625. pezos, and for his fift parte of silver 26485. pound weight, and to every Horseman 8000. pezos of gold, and 67.² pounce weight of silver. Every Soldier had 4550. pezos of golde, and 280. pounce weight of silver. Every Captain had, some 30000. some, 20000. pezos of golde and of silver, proportionally aunswerable to theyr degrees and calling, according to the rate agreed upon amongst them. Fraunces Pizare as their General, according to his degree and calling proportionally, had more then any of the rest, over and besides the Massie table of gold, which Attabalipa had in his Lyttier, which wayed, 25000. pezos of Golde: never was there before that day, Soldiers so riche in so small a time, and with so little danger. And in this journey for want of Iron, they did shoe theyr Horsses some with Gold, and some with silver. This is to be seene in the generall Historie of the west Indies, whereas the dooings of Pizare, and the conquest of the Peru is more at large set foorth.

A pezo is worth vii. s. vi. d. English¹.

Se the History of the West Indies in French, the xiii. booke. fol. 138. some part whereof is translated into English³.

To this may I adde the great discoveries and conquestes, which the Princes of Portingall have made rounde about the West, the South, and the East partes of Africa, and also at Calicute and in the East Indies, and in America, at Brasilia and elsewhere, in sundry Islandes, in fortifying, peopling, and planting all along the sayd Coastes, and Islandes, ever as they discovered, which beeing rightly wayed and considered, dooth minister just cause of incouragement to our countrymen, not to account it so harde and difficult athing for the subjectes of this noble Realme of Englande, to discover people, plant and possesse the like goodly lands and rich Countries not farre from us, but neere adjoyning and offering it selfe unto us (as is aforesayde) which have never yet heeretofore, beene in the actuall possession of any other Christian Prince, then the Princes of this realm All which, (as I thinke) shoulde not a little animate and encourage us, to looke out and to adventure abroade, understanding what large Countries and Islandes the Portingals with theyr small number have within these fewe yeeres discovered, peopled, and planted, some part wherof I have thought it not amisse, briefly in perticuler to name, bothe the Townes, Countries, and Islandes, so

¹ Omitted by Hakluyt, III (1600), 174.

² For '670'?

³ Omitted by Hakluyt.

neere as I coulde uppon the suddaine call them to remembraunce, for the rest I doo referre this Reader to the Histostories [*sic*], where more at large the same is to be seene. Fyrste they did winne and conquere from the Princes of Barbary the Island of Geysera and towne of Arzilla, not past 140 myle distaunt from their Metropolitane and cheefe Cittie of Fesse: and after that they wunne also from the sayde Princes the Townes of Tangier, Seuta, Mazigam Azamore and Azaffie, all amongst the Sea Coostes. And in the yeere of our Lorde 1455. Alouis de Cademoste a gentleman Venetian, was he that first discovered for theyr use Cape Verd, with the Islandes adjoyning, of which hee then peopled and planted those of Bonavista and Santiago discovering also the River Senega, otherwise called Niger and Cape Rouge and Sere Leone, and in a fewe yeeres after they did discover the Coast of Ginea, and there peopled and built the Castell of Myne: then discovered they further, to the countreys of Melegettes, Benyn, and Manicongo, with the Islandes of Principe, Anobon, Saint Mathew, and Saint Thomas, under the Equynoctial lyne, which they peopled and built in the sayd Island of Saint Thomas, the Haven Towne or Port of Panosan. After that, about the yeere of our Lorde 1494. one Bartholomew Dias was sent foorth, who was the first man that discovered and dobled that great and large Cape called Bon, Esperance, and passing the Curraunts that runne uppon the sayd coast, on the Southwest parte of Africa, betweene the sayde maine Land and the Island of S. Lawrence, otherwise called of the auncients, Madagascar, he discovered to the harbor named the River of Infants. After that since the yeere of our Lorde God 1497. and before the full accomplishment of the yeere of Christ 1510 through the travails and discoveries of Vasques de Game, Peeter Alvares, Thomas Lopes, Andrew Corsale, John de Empolie, Peeter Sinter, Sancho Detoar, and that noble and woorthy Gentleman Alonso de Alburqueque, they did discover people and plant at Ceffala, beeing upon the East side of Affrica, in 20. degrees of latitude of the South pole, and direct West from the Islande of S. Lawrence, (at which Port of Ceffala, divers doo afirme that King Salomon did fetch his golde) As also upon the sayd East side of Affrica, they did afterwarde discover people, and plant at Monzanbique, Quiloa Monbaza and Melinde 2. degrees of sotherly latitude, and so uppe to the streight of Bubell, Mandell at the entring of the Redde sea, all uppon the East coast, of Affrica, from whence they put off at the Cape of Garda Funi, and past the great gulfes of Arabia, or Indian Sea East to Sinus Persicus, and the Island of Ormus, and so passing the large and great

Ceffala is accounted to be the place where the Noble and wise King Salomon did fetch his golde.

River Indus, where he hath his fall into the mayne Ocean, in 23. degrees, and di. under the tropick of Cancer, of Septentrionall latitude, they made theyr course againe directly towards the South, and began to discover people, and plant upon the west side of the hether India at Goa, Mangallor, Cananor, Calecute, and Chochyn, and the Island of Zeylam.

And heere I thinke good to remember to you, that after theyr planting upon this coaste, their forces grewe so great, that they were able to compell all the Mores, the subjectes of the mighty Emperor of the Turks to pay tribute unto them, ever as they passed the Gulfe of Arabia, from the porte of Mecca in Arabia filice, where Mahomet lyeth buried, or any of the other portes of the sayd Land, ever as they passed to and from the Havens of Cochyn, Calecute, and Cananor, and by theyr martiall manner of discipline, practised in those partes, the great and mightye Prince the Sophie Emperor of the Persians, and professed enemie to the Turck, came to the knowledge and use of the Caliver shotte, and to interlace and joine footemen with his Horsemen, sithence which time the Persians, have growen to that strength and force, that they have given many mighty and great overthrowes to the Turke, to the great quiet of all Christendome.

And from the Island of Zeylam aforesayde, they also discovered more East, in passing the Gulfe of Bengala, and so passed the notable and famous River of Ganges, where he hath his fall into the maine Ocean, under the tropicke of Cancer, and to the Cape of Malaca, and unto the great and large Islands of Sumatro, Java major, Java minor, Mindano, Palobane, Celebes, Gilolo, Tydore, Mathin, Borneio, Machian, Terranette, and all other the Islandes of Molucques and Spiceries, and so East, alongst the coasts of Cataia, to the Ports of China, Zayton, and Quinsay, and to the Islandes of Zipango, and Japan, situate in the East, in 37. degrees of septentrionall latitude and in 195. of longitude. Their noble and woorthy discoveries heere also is not to be forgotten, that in the yeere of our Lorde 1501. that famous and woorthy gentleman Americus Vespusne, did discover people and plant to theyr use the Holdes and fortes which they have in Brasillia, of whom (hee beeing but a private Gentleman, the whole Conntry or firme Land of the West Indies, is commonly called and knowne by the name of America.

These are the furthest parts of the world from Englande. At these Islands hath Sir Fraunces Drake bene, wher the fame of the Qu. most excellent Majestie was renowned.

I do greatlie doubt least I seeme overteditious in the recitall of the perticuler discoveries and conquestes of the East and west Indies, wherein I was the more bolde to urge the patience of the Reader, to the ende it might most manifestly and at large appeare, to all such

as are not acquainted with the Histories, howe the King of Portirgall, whose Country for popularity and number of people, is scarce comparable to some three shires of Englande. And the King of Spayne likewise, whose naturall Countrey dooth not greatly abounde with people. Both which Princes, by meanes of their discoveries, within lesse then 90. yeeres past, have as it appeareth, both mightely and mervailouslie enlarged their territories and dominions through their owne industrie, by the assistance of the omnipotent, whose ayde we shall not neede to doubt, seeing the cause and quarrell which we take in hand tendeth to his honour and glory, by the enlargement of the Christian fayth.

To conclude, since by christian duety we stand bounde cheefely to further all such acts as doo tende to the encreasing the true flocke of Christ, by reducing into the right way those loste sheepe which are yet astray. And that wee shall therein followe the example of our right vertuous prediccors of renowmed memory, and leave unto our posteritie, a device memoriall of so godly an enterprise. Let us I say for the considerations alledged, enter into judgement with ourselves, whether this action may belong to us or no. The rather for that this voyage through the mighty assistaunce of the omnipotent God, shal take our desired effect (whereof there is no just cause of doubt) Then shall her Majesties dominions be enlarged, her highnes auncient titles justly conformed, all odious ydlenes from this our Realme utterly banished. Divers decayed Townes repayed, and many poore and needy persons relieved, and estates of such as now live in want shalbe embettered. The ignorant and barbarous Idolaters taught to knowe Christ. The innocent defended from their bloodie tyrannicall neighbours. The diabolicall custome of sacrificing humane Creatures abolished.

All which (no man doubteth) are thinges gratefull in the sight of our Saviour, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie: Be of good cheere therefore, for he that can not erre hath sayd: That before the ende of the world, his word shall bee preached to all nations. Which good worke, I trust is reserved for our Nation to accomplish in these partes: Wherefore my deere Countrimen, be not dismayed, for the power of God is nothing diminished, nor the love that he hath to the preaching and planting of the Gospell any whitt abated. Shall we then doubt he will be lesse ready, most mightily and miraculously to assist our Nation in this quarrel, which is cheefely and principally undertaken for the enlargement of the christian fayth abroad, and the banishment of ydlenes at home, then

he was to Columnus, Vasques Numes, Hernando Cortese, and Fraunces Pyzare in the west: and Vasques de Game, Peter Alvares, and Alonso de Alburqueque in the East.

Let us therefore with cheerefull mindes and couragious hearts, give the attempt, and leave the sequell to almighty God, for if he be on our part, what forceth it who be against us. Thus leaving the correction and reformation unto the gentle Reader, whatsoever is in this Treatise too much or too little, or otherwise unperfect, I take leave and so ende¹.

FINIS.

The Contentes of the Articles of Assuraunce, betweene the Principall assignes of Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight, and the foure sortes of adventurers, with them in the voyage for the Western Discoveries.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Associates. | } which | { C. li. |
| Assystants. | | |
| Adventurers in the first degree. | | |
| Adventurers in the second degree. | | |
| | } be such | { L. li. |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | } as adventure. | { XX. v. li. |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |

EVERY person which hath adventured with Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight, or with any principall assigne from him, shall have and enjoy all such Lands, Liberties, Freedomes, Privileges and commodities as to any of them hath beene graunted, or covenanted by the said Sir Humfrey, or by any principall assigne, in writing to bee shewed under his or theyr handes and seales.

The ratyficatyon of former Adventurers.

And every person which hath adventured himselfe in the last voyage, and continued in the same, until such time as the admirall of the sayd voyage was lost, and will adventure himselfe in this next voeage, shall in recompence have his rate doubled.

Rewards to such as have adventured in person in the last voyage.

EVERY person, that shall adventure in this next voyage, in money or commodities, the some of one hundreth poundes and receyved by the treasurer, or agent to be kept in a Storehouse, provided for that purpose: shal beare the name of an associate, he, his heires and fower of his servaunts serving him seven yeeres, to have free libertie to trade and trafique in the said Countreys. And shall have a just portion accordyng to the quantity of his adventure, of all commodities gotten and retourned into England, by any the Vessels which shall be set forth by the sayde principall assigne, before the twentieth of March next, in Anno 1583.

Associats.

¹ Hakluyt, III (1600), 181, ends.

- 2 { He shall have to him and his heyres for ever, sixteene thousand acres of Land, there to bee peopled and manured at his pleasure, holding the same in socage tenner by Fealtie onely, with auctoritie to keepe Court Leete, and Court Barron uppon the same, at his pleasure, with as great roialties in as large and ample maner as any Associate there, or other Subject in this Realme now enjoyeth any landes in England.
 - 3 { Hee to bee chosen for one of the cheefest persons for making of Lawes there. And shall be free from all arrestes, tortures, and execution by Marshall Lawe.
 - 4 { Yeelding and paying yeerely, tenne shillings for everye thousand acres after the same shall bee possessed and occupied one whole yeere and to the Queenes majestie the fift part of Golde and Sylver Ower, which shall bee cleerely gotten, one other fift part of Golde, Sylver, Ower, Pearle and Precious stones, to Sir Humfrey Gylbert and his heires, and to the principall assigne the like fift part, and also one fift part of Christall to the said principal assigne to be found and clearly gotten upon the same sixteene thousand acres.
 - 5 { There shalbe levied within three yeeres after the sayd Land shalbe inhabited, for every acre manured on halfepeny yeerely for the building of Fortes, Townes, Churches Shippes, maintenaunce of learning and Soldiers, and releiving of maimed persons etc., to bee bestowed and employed at the discretion of the principall Assigne and his heyres, the Liefテナנט and Associate, there for the time beeing.
- Assys-*
tants.
- 1 { **E**VERY person adventuring as aforesayde the some of fifty poundes, shall beare the name of an Assistant he and his heires males, and three of his servauntes serving him seven yeeres, to have free liberty to trade, as in the first Article of Associates.
 - 2 { He shal have to him and his heires for ever eight thousand acres of Lande, to bee peopled and manured as aforesayd, holding the same as aforesayd, with free liberty to keepe Court Leete, and courte Baron at his pleasure, and to take the commodities thereunto belonging.
 - 3 Yeelding and paying as in the fourth Article of the Associates.

- 4 To be levied one halfpenny yeerelie for everie acre, as in the fift Article of the Associates.

1 **E**VERY person adventuring as aforesaid; the some of xxv. pound shalbe an adventurer of the first degree he and his heires males, and two of his servauntes, serving him seaven yeeres, to be free of trade etc. as in the first Article of the Associates. *Adventurers in the first degree.*

- 2 { He shall have to him and his heires for ever, four thousand acres of Lande, to be peopled and manured as aforesaide, holding the same as aforesaid, with free liberty to keepe Court Barron at his pleasure, and to take the commodities thereunto belonging.

- 3 Yeelding and paying as aforesaid, and over and above to the principall assigne the tenth part of Copper.

- 4 To be levied one halfpenny yeerely as aforesaid.

1 **E**VERY person adventuring, as aforesaid the some of xii. pound x. shillings, shalbe an adventurer of the second degree, hee and his heires males and one of his servauntes servinge him seven yeeres, to be free of trade, etc. as in the first article of the associates. *Adventurers in the second degree.*

- 2 { He shall have to him and his heires for ever two thousand acres of land, to bee peopled and manured as aforesaid, holding the same as aforesaid.

- 3 Yeelding and paying as aforesaid, in the third article of the adventurers of the first degree.

- 4 To be levied one halfpenny yeerelie as aforesaid.

{ The generall and admirall in this voyage, shall have in all thinges as an associate, with double quantity of Land, the Leiftenaunt and Viceadmirall in quantity of Land as an associate, and in priviledges as an assistant. *Generall.*

Every Captaine, and Maister of a ship in the said voyage, shall have as an assistant. *Captains and Maysters.*

EVERY Ma. his mate, Ma. Carpenter and Ma. Gonner, and Quarter Ma shall have in Land as an assistant, and in priviledges as an adventurer of the first degree.

{ EVERY skilfull man in trying of minerall matters, and every apoticarie skilful in choise of drugges, shall have in Land as an assistant, and in priviledges as an adventurer of the first degree.

{ EVERY Gunners and Carpenters mates, Steward, Surgion, Boteswane, Purser, Trumpeter and other Officer and necessarie artificer, having their necessary instrumentes and tooles, shall have according to the rate of Landes as an adventurer of the first degree, and in previledges as an adventurer of the second degree.

Soldiours. Every Soldiour and Mariner shall have in all thinges as an adventurer of the second degree.

{ EVERY Person that shall winter and remaine in those Countries, one whole yeere shall have double the quantity of Land, as by this rate hee ought to have, if hee did not stay one yeere as aforesaid.

{ These rewardes to be extended to those persons only, which shall travell in the sayd voyage for, their thirds or shares uppon their owne adventures without wages and not to any others.

{ EVERY person, who shalbe willing to adventure in commodities, as aforesaid under the some of xii. pound x. shillings shall have freedome of trad, land and liberties rated, according to the proporcion of his adventure.

{ EVERY person which hath, or shall adventure in this voyage in money or commodities as aforesaid, and will also adventure his person in this next voyage, shall have in respect of his person according to the rate aforesaid, over and above his adventure.

133. JANUARY 1584. THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS OF EXETER AND SIR GEORGE PECKHAM¹.

The courte: kept and holden before the Governour, consulls and companye the Fourth daye of January 1583: in the syx and

¹ Act Book of the Merchant Adventurers of Exeter 1558-1603, MSS. of the Incorporation of Weavers, Tuckers and Shearmen, Exeter. Partly printed by William Cotton, *An Elizabethan guild of the city of Exeter* (1873), pp. 85-6, but incorrectly dated.

twentieth yeare of the reigne of oure soveraigne Ladye queene Elizabeth etc.

Mr Michaell Germyn Governour Mr Nicholas Martyn Mr Thomas Martyn John Hoyell William Spicer consulls Mr George Smyth threasurer

At this courte ther is a lettre reade from the right worshipfull Sir Fraunces Walsingham knight chief Secretary to her Majestie dated the viiith daye of December 1582, directed to the maiour of Exeter towching the voyage pretended to the westren partes of America by Sir Humfrye Gilbert Knight and others. / Also ther is an other lettre reade from the right worshipfull Sir George Peckham knight dated the xiiiith of December 1583, directed also to the saide maiour of Exeter, towching the saide matter. /

*lettres
reade*

And this Courte being especiallie called to understande what money everie one of this companye will disburse and adventure in and aboute the settinge forth of certen Shippinge to the saide parties of America. And the Governour movinge the companye thereunto, and declared the greate beneficte and commoditie thereof ensuyng. The whole generallitie doo lyke well of the saide voyage and wysse good successe thereunto, and woulde be glade to adventure and set forth Shippinge thether: But consideringe the tyme of the yeare to be Farr spent for preparacion of Shippinge and provision for suche a voyage, They mynde to respecte thereupon this yeare, and the next yeare as they shall see success therein, they wilbe glade to adventure thether and doo any thinge for the furtherance thereof. / . . .

*towchinge
the pre-
tended
voyage to
America.*

Memorandum: that the xith daye of January 1583 one Olyver Manwayringe sarvante to the right worshipfull Sir George Peckham Knight (beinge authorized for that purpose) came in and declared the pretence and order of a voyage pretended to the westren partes of America and the greate beneficte and commoditie that maye ensue thereof aswell to the whole realme as to the adventurers that waye: And shewed forth certen lettres patent for the assuraunce of the beneficte of the saide adventurers, and a booke towching the discription and order of the saide pretended voyage: whereupon the Governour moved the companye to set forth certen Shipping and to be adventurers

that waye: But forasmoche as there is two lettres directed to the maiour of Exon: one from the right worshipfull Sir Fraunces Walsingham Knight. chief Secretary to her Majestie: and thother from the saide Sir George Peckham towching the saide matter. The Governour consulls and companye thought it good that the maiour and alderman his brethern shoulde conferr aswell for the aunswering of their saide worshipfull lettres: as also to take order for Shipping and adventuring in the saide voyage . . .

The courte: kept and holden before the Governour, consulls and companye the xxxth daye of January 1583: in the Syx and twentieth yeare of the reigne of oure Sovereyn Ladye queene Elizabeth etc. /

Mr Michaell Germyn Governour Mr. Nicholas Martyn John Hoyell consulls Mr. George Smyth threaserer

This courte being especiallie called to understand what everie one of this companye woulde adventure to the foresaide parties of America And the Governour moving them thereunto (Olyver Manwayring being present) the parties whose names are hereunder writen dyd agree and promise to adventure everie of them to the setting forth of a Shipp that waye as hereafter followeth viz. /

| | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| Mr Nicholas Martyn | xii li. xs. |
| Mr Thomas Martyn | xii li. xs. |
| Mr George Smyth | xii li. xs. |
| Mr Thomas Spicer | xii li. xs. |
| John Hoyle | xii li. xs. |
| Richarde Jordeyne | xii li. xs. |
| Myles Lambert | xii li. xs. |

CHAPTER VII

JOHN DEE, ADRIAN GILBERT AND THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE

Of World admired Drake (for of his Worth what argues more
Than fame envie? Some, for was his so rich thought theirs too poore,)
And his brave Breeder Hawkins (yeat be honord every Pen,
That, howsoever, honour them as high resolved Men)
In Fiction, or in Mysterie to reade would lesse delight,
Than would significantly some their glorious Jornies wright:
The paines of such invited Pens subjects would requite.
Adde Gilbert, Greenvill, Frobisher, of Knights to make up five,
All in their better Parts with God, with Men their Fames alive:
WARNER, *Albions England*, Bk. XII, cap. lxx.

134. 28 AUGUST 1580. JOHN DEE AND SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT¹.

MY dealing with Sir Humfrey Gilbert for his graunt of discovery.

135. 10 SEPTEMBER 1580. AGREEMENT BETWEEN SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT AND JOHN DEE².

Sir Humfry Gilbert graunted me my request to him, made by letter for the royalties of discoveryes all to the North above the parallel of the 50 degree of latitude, in the presence of Stoner Sir John Gilbert his servant or reteyner: and theruppon toke me by the hand with faithfull promises in his lodging of Jacobi Cookes howse in White Crosse strete: where we dyned onely us three together being Satterday.

¹ John Dee, 'Diary', Bodleian, Ashmole MS. 487. Printed by Halliwell, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*

136. 23 JANUARY 1583. DISCUSSION OF THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE¹.

The right Honorable Mr Secretary Walsingham cam to my howse: where by good hap he found Mr Awdrian Gilbert, & so talk was begonne of Northwest straights discovery &c.

137. 24 JANUARY 1583. FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE².

I, Mr. Awdrian Gilbert, and John Davis went (by appointment) to Mr Secretary to Mr Beale his howse: where onely we 4 were secret, and we made Mr Secretary privie of the N W passage: and all chartes and rutters wer agreed uppon in generall.

138. 6 MARCH 1583. DISCUSSIONS WITH THE MUSCOVY COMPANY³.

I, and Mr Adrian Gilbert and John Davis, did mete with Mr Alderman Barnes, Mr Towrson and Mr Yong and Mr Hudson, abowt the N W voyage.

139. 26 MARCH 1583. JOHN DEE INQUIRES OF SPIRITS⁴.

26 Mar. 1583.

A. Gilbert may be made privie, but he is not to be a Practiser

D. [John Dee] Must Adrian Gilbert, be made privie to these Mysteries?

Me. [Medicina or Medicus Dei, the spirit] Thou hast sayde

D. May I note to your name any peculier character or syllable to distinguish your speeches from ours or others?

Me: Medecina sum.

D. I may then use this syllable Me, to Note Medicina or Medicus Dei

¹ John Dee, 'Diary', Bodleian, Ashmole MS. 487. Printed by Halliwell, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*

³ John Dee, 'Diary', Bodleian, Ashmole MS. 487. Printed by Halliwell, p. 19.

⁴ John Dee, 'Mysteriorum Liber 5' ('Spiritual Diary'), BM, Sloane MS. 3188, f. 65.

Me. Behold, these things, shall God bring to pass by his hands whose mynde he hath now newly set on fyre. The corners and streights of the earth shall be measured to the depth: And strange shalbe the wonders that are Creeping into new worldes. Tyme shalbe altdred, with the difference of day and night. All things have grown allmost to theyr fullness. But beware of Pride. We teache duty, Humbleness, and submission. Shortly shall these things come to passe.

A. Gilbert his Task Note a prophesie Pride

D. Then this Adrian Gilbert shall cary the name of Jesus among the Infidells to the great glory of god, and the recovery of those miserable people from the mowth of hell into Jesus, for many hundred yeres past, and yet contynually ther do fall &c.

Adrian Gilbert

Me. Who made thy mowth to propesy? or, Who opened the eyes of thy understanding? Who annoynted thy Jaws, or fed the with unknown meate. Even he it is, that pricked these things forward, and shall use you as his Instrumentes to a mightie honor.

of God

D. May he require description of the Cuntries, for his better instruction, &c.

Description Geographicall Tenebrae post dorsum Instruction requisite for Discoveries making of the seas and theyr boundes

Me. Let darknes go behinde the, and tempt him not, that judges. These things belong not to my charge. Thow knowest them, which are sufficient, whom short time shall serve, for the whole instruction. Greater nede were to enquire How or by what meanes thow mayst be made worthy; and so, consequently have knowledge for the knowing, having and using of this caelestiall medicine.

140. [1583]¹. MEMORANDA OF THINGS NECESSARY FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE².

A consideratyon of sooche thinges as shall be necessarye for the advauncement of the discoverye of the northe west passage.

In primis y^t yt woold please her majestie to grawnte unto Mr Adrian Gilbert and unto his assocyattes lyke privyleagues as weare not longe sithence grawnted unto Sir H. Gylbert.

¹ Probably between January and September 1583.

² State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Additional. SP 15/28, 53.

That wheras a grawnt was made unto the Company¹ of Moscovia for the dyscoverye of the Northe west passage the seyd Compaynye may be dealt with all to grawnt unto the seyd Adrian and unto his assocyattes lybartye to make the said dyscovarye and that the same being dyscovered nowe shall frequent as a trader into² sooche contrys as shall be by them dyscovered but the said Adryan and his assocyattes during the space of xx^{to} yeeres withowt the assent of the sayd Adrian [withall?]

To make choyse of sooche adventurers as shall venter the discovery and note ther names

To make choyse of two shippes the one of iii^{xx} tun an other of 50

To furnishe the said shyppes with three score mariners

To set downe a propoertyon of vycalles for one whole yearre

To set downe a preporctyon of merchaundyce for to be carried in the said shippes

To erect two staples for the placynge of sooche merchaundyce as shall be browght owt of the cuntryes dyscoveryd whereof the one to be at London the other at Dartemouthe

To sende for A. B.³ owt of hand

Endorsed:—Considiretions for ye discovery of ye North Weaste passage.

141. [SEPTEMBER 1583?]⁴. PRIVILEGES DESIRED BY ADRIAN GILBERT⁵.

That Adrian Gilbert hathe heretofore greatly travayled and yet continueth to his great charges in travayling to discover the northerly parts⁶ of Atlantis called Novus orbis not inhabited or discovered by any Christians hitherto but by him.

That the sayd Adrians purpose is by travaylyng into those partes of the North, to bee a meanes to wyn the people their to

¹ 'marchauntes' crossed out.

² 'the' crossed out.

³ Anthony Brigham?

⁴ Probably before John Dee's departure for the continent on 21 September 1583. See C. Fell Smith, *John Dee*, p. 117. The style of this document is reminiscent of John Dee.

⁵ State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Additional. SP 15/28, 54. Another copy in State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth. SP 12/161, 24.

⁶ 'beyond' crossed out.

the knowledge of God, & to open a proffitable trafficque for this realme.

That hir Majestie for the considerations aforesayd licenceth the sayd Adrian and his associates (to be named in a schedule) as also ther heir[es] and assignes of his & everie of them to depart owt of this realme with shipping, men, armour & all necessities unto anie the seyde Northerly partes lying (according to the earthly globe) between the aequinoctiall lyne & the North Pole anie lawe or ordinance to the contrarie notwithstanding; and to inhabite and enjoy to him & them all such places as he & they may possesse them selves of in those Northerly partes with all maner of liberties & royalties by sea and by land there.

That the sayd Adrian & the rest of his Associates their heires & assignes shall for this licens & graunt yeald to hir majestie & hir successors a fyfeth part of all such goold silver pearles &c. as they shall gett in those northern partes.

That the sayd Adrian and the rest shall lade, chardge and dischardge the comodities brought from those North contries only at the ports of London & Dartmouth; and the customers of these portes to receave the sayd fyfeth part for her majestie.

That the sayd Adrian &c. shall hould all the sayd Northerly partes to him them their heires & assignes forever, of hir Majestie hir heires & successours by homage & by the sayd fyfeth parte reseaved.

That in case anie other besyds the said Adrian & his Associates doe trafficque into those parts of the North: their shippes & goods to be confiscated, one half to hir majestie the other to the sayd Adrian &c. and the sayd Gilbert etc. to sue for them and [need be]¹ in anie court of record in this realm under the name of the Collegats or the fellowshippe of New Navigations Atlanticall and Septentrionall: by which name they be Incorporated.

That the sayd Adrian & his Companie shall have full power to make lawes & decrees for all matters [whatsoever]² among them selves & in those Contries, the same not beyng contrarie to the relligion & lawes in this realm now established.

That the sayd Adrian Gilbert, John Dee & one John Davies

¹ Added from SP 12/161, 24.

² Added from SP 12/161, 24.

having been the chiefest travaylers to fynd out this Northerly viage and beyng of that Companie as also their heires or assignes shall be specially for ever exempted from all customes and payments for anie thing they [carrie]¹ from heare to those Northern partes, or bryng from thence hither: with a strayte proviso that by this speciall exemption they cullour no other mens goods goyng or commyng to other places than is aforesayd

That the sayd Adrian in case anie person of & in his Companie growe mutinouse by the waye may lay such punishment uppon such person or persons as the cause shall be fownd in justice to requier by the verdict of xii men of the Companie sworne thereunto.

Endorsed.—A brief collection of the substance of the grant desyred by the discoverers of the Northwest partes.

142. [JANUARY 1584]. A DRAFT OF THE GRANT TO ADRIAN GILBERT AND HIS ASSOCIATES².

A Graunte from her majestie to Adryan Gilbert & his Assocyates & their heyres to be incorporated by the name of the Colliges of the dyscovery of the north west passage./

That the sayd Adryan Gilbert his Assocyates their heyres & assignes & every of them shall have absolute powre & aucthorytie to trafique, trade, & make their resyance, in those landes to be dyscovered with all priviledges prerogatives, Jurydictions, & Royalties, both by sea & Land. / Paying therfor to her majestie her heyres & successors the tenthe parte of all gold & sylver ore pearles Juells & precyous stones to be delyvered to the customers of London Dartmouthe & Plymouthe at which places only they shall lade & unlade /

¹ Added from SP 12/161, 24.

² State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth, Additional. SP 15/28, 55. Professor E. G. R. Taylor (*Hakluyts*, p. 15 n.) says, 'On the first day of the new year 1579 (*i.e.* 25 March) Adrian Gilbert obtained his Patent for a Corporation to trade with the North-west, and to discover the North-west passage (*SP Domestic*, cxx)'. SP 12/120 contains no document referring to Adrian Gilbert, but the document here printed was formerly placed in SP 12/130, 20, under 25 March 1579. There is no date on it and nothing except a mistaken conjecture in the arrangement of the State papers to attribute it to this early date.

That no person or persons shall trafique or trade in this Discovery with oute beinge fre, unles they have the speciall lycence of the sayd Adryan his heyres or Assignes or the more parte of them, so that the sayd Adryan his heyres or Assignes be one / upon payne of forfayture ipso facto bothe ship & goodes one halfe to her majestie & thother to Adryan Gilbert & his Associates their heyres & assignes for ever. /

That the sayd Adryan Gilbert & his asocytates their heyres & assignes shall make any Lawe statute ordenaunce & decre for the better advauncement of their newe trade & trafique not being contrary to the lawes of this our Realme. /

That yf any the Assocytates or other, trafiquinge & tradinge in this dyscovery shall chaunce to make their abode in those landes & there to have yssue, that their yssue shalbe fre denysens & enjoy all priviledges as persons natyve borne within this our Realm /

The sayd Adryan Gilbert, Walter Raley & John Davys to be custome free for their owne proper goodes, duringe the space of .60. yeres. / which they shall bring from those landes to be dyscovered. /

That no person or persons shall visit haunt frequent trafique or trade in this voyage for the space of fyve yers without the especiall good lyking & consent of the sayd Adryan his heyres or assignes first had in wrytinge

To have aucthorytie by verdict of .12. men of the company to punyshe any offender as the cause in Justice shall requyre. /

Endorsed:—A brefe of the Corporacion for Adryan Gilbert & his Associates.

APPENDIX I
THE MUNSTER PLANTATION
SCHEME OF 1569

(a) 12 FEBRUARY 1569. PETITION TO SIR HENRY SIDNEY¹.

SITH it seameth good to the quenes Majestie to use meanes to reduce her Realme of Irlande to Civiletie and obedience hit standeth with the dutye of good subjectes to offer their assistance in furdurance of the same, And therfore touchinge all those landes known by the name of Munster, heare followeth the humble offers of sondrey her Majesties good subjectes, who with her lauffull favour are sufficientlye hable to accomplishe the same, Theire petition for it graunted whiche is.

That hit wolde please her Majestie to give and assure unto them and to their heires those cuntreys of Munster with the benefite of all excheates and forfeited landes as they shall happen within the same / together with the havens in or adjoyninge to the same Countreys, and all the Ilandes, lyinge betwene the towne of Rosse and the sounde of Blaskey, with the prerogatyve of the fisshinges in those seas, and suche her regalities for enjoyenge of the premisses, as lauffully maye be desired, and necessarye to be graunted / standinge with the honour of her Majestie; and their assuraunce / yeldinge and payinge to her Majestye and her successours as muche yerely Rente as her highnes is aunswered of at this Daye. /

for whiche beside the same auncyent Rente they offer. /

To give her Majestie for the benefite and custome of the havyns Ilandes and fisshinges yerelie—cc li.

The Rente to begynne three yeres after the graunte, and to contynue as longe as they maye enjoye the same. /

To give for all landes to be evicted from the wilde and rebell people nor charged with the auncient Rente aforesaid after the

¹ SP 63/27, 22.

rates heare ensuinge viz. for every acre of medowe—iiiiid. for every acre arrable or pasture—iid. for every acre wood or bogge—id. whiche in fewe yeres undoubtedlye will greatly increase her revenue / and whoallie disburden the greate expences and charges her Majestie is at nowe in those parties.

For the more spedie & assured answeringe of this revenue they desire her Majesties commissyon to passe through those contreyes of Munster at her Majesties charge to thende, that wheare intrusyon and no title is founde, the wilde and rebell enemye maye be excluded and her Rente by that survey rated /

They offer to build a towne upon the haven of Ballatymore or beare haven, or els at suche haven as shall for that purpose seme most convenyent praiynge her Majestye to encorporate the same enjoyninge the best lawes and customes of the Citty of Dewlyn

They will fortifie their owne defence and suretye of that contrey to her Majestie as well against sea as lande at suche place as they for their owne suretye shall thinke moste convenyent / And therfore desire to transporte convenyent number of artificers and laborers for the same purpose /.

They yelde to holde those landes by the tenures and lawes of Englande with wardship and mariage to her Majestie.

The Irishman of xl li. yerelie revenue, once in two yeres to shewe hym self dailie by the space of one whole weke, to attende the deputie of Irlande, in token of his trewe obeysaunce, upon payne of forfayture of his landes and goodes to the prynce. /

What profit and comoditie maye growe to the Crowne of Englande by grauntinge this Sute /

Those countreys nowe possessed by disobedient people assiste every rebellyon, shalbe inhabited by naturall Englishmen whoe bisides theire assuraunce of fydelitye have sufficient counterpays for their truthe in Englande / And those havens nowe enjoyed by spainiardes frenchemen and other straungers, to no proffitt of her Majestie but greatt perell and annoyance, bringinge weapon and armour reddye meanes to rebellyon shalbe avoyded her gayne and suretye of that contreye increased and the rest of the Irishmen lesse hable to annoye / And withall those places munyted against invasyon and incursyon. of all straungers the onlie comforte of the Irishe nacion /

The abundance and plentye of Fishe wherein those seas are very fortunate, shalbe enjoyed by the naturall Englishe men, wherby all other the straunge nacions, whiche nowe are hable to sell the same, shalbe driven to buye, to the greate and lafull enrichinge, of the good subjectes, the embasinge of forrayne commodities, and the honorable advauncement of the Crowne of Englande.

The like commoditie and welth will growe to her Majestie and her good state of Marchauntes, in that those straungers shall not at theire pleasure, trafique oure best wares as hides tallowe and other forbydden wares as nowe they doe without controlment to their owne increase and our decaye.

Also the frutes of this obedience and civylitye will worke in the wildest and Idelest, a meane to ymytate and followe the like / Or els through idlenes offende to dye. Furthermore thies havens and fisshinges must nedes greatlie increase the necessarye number of maryners nowe in this Realme of late dayes very muche decayed A matter as muche to be pityed, and holpen as any other.

Moreover by this meanes the noysome number of pirattes of all Europe must be discouraged, who nowe without all feare haunt the same the same [*sic*] havens / not havinge the like succour and convenyencye of place in any coste of christendome

Fynallie for those havens her Majestie and her successours forever maye with a small power staye all trafique and passage by sea, from Fraunce, Flaunders, scotlande and Denmark into any parties of Spayne, portugall and all landes by southe / or from thence backwarde, at her will and pleasure, so as she maye at all tymes give warre or peace holdinge the enemyes abilitie in her owne handes, gretter honour than whiche cannot happen to any prince, nether greater causes maye be to perswade / Wherin also her highnes shall enlarge her governance and revenue dimynishe her charge and obteyne thencrease of a number of good subjectes / whoe herein meane the best and therfore theye trust god in her harte will give it the like understandinge. / . / .

Addressed:—To the right honorable Sir henry Sydneys

knyghte of the Garter off the order [?] & Lorde Deputy off the realme of Irlande¹

Endorsed:—12 Febr 1568 a dyscoors for Munster

(b) [MARCH 1569]. PETITION TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL².

Petition of suche gentlemen as offer to suppress the rebels in Munster and 'to plant & inhabit certen landes and possessions in that provynce with naturall Englishe men, or at the least with sutche of Ireland birth as are discended of English nacion'.

They desire the grant of all lands belonging to the earl of Clancarty, the Odriscoll Mc Donough, the Mahoundes, the Ocallivans, the Mc Swynes and the Osullivans. (Cecil notes that this can only be done if they are proclaimed rebels or attainted.)

They also desire all the lands in Munster in the Queen's hands, or that come into her hands within ten years, together with the islands and fishing between Rosse and the Sound of Blasky, and excepting towns already incorporated, paying rents as paid to the Queen within the last twenty years. (Cecil notes that a territorial limitation is necessary: and that rents on record within the last sixty years be required.)

They offer from 1d. to 3d. an acre for lands 'recovered' by force, after a year. (Cecil notes that the lands should be surveyed.)

They desire to hold by English tenures from the Crown and to transmit their lands to their heirs and alienate them to such Englishmen as shall inhabit there.

As they shall have to build towns, forts and castles, they desire that these should be incorporated with large privileges.

They desire a commision for seven years 'to leavy and take uppe, sufficient nombres of Soldiours laboureres; and Artificers', and also to export provisions. (Cecil notes that the number of pressed men should be reasonable and the amount of exports according to the number of English people there.)

They desire not to be liable for service outside Munster.

They desire authority for 'the chieften of this company' to make laws and ordinances, not contrary to the laws of Ireland.

They desire liberty to export grain, etc., grown on their lands,

¹ The address is written in a hand which is very likely to be Gilbert's.

² SP 63/28, 2. Abstract. Cecil's notes are in the margin.

to foreign realms, not being enemies of her majesty. (Cecil notes that it should be grain only.)

They desire exemption from subsidies, etc., for twenty years, and freedom of customs for provisions forever. (Cecil notes that it should be freedom only for provisions for their households.)

They desire authority for 'the Chieften for the time being . . . with the assent of the more part of the said company' to exercise martial law and to imprison and dispose of malefactors. (Cecil excepts those guilty of wilful murder.)

They request that the Queen 'in consideracion of the greate chardges y^t the said gentlemen of necessity must be at' to sell them, at a reasonable price, arms and armour for 3000 footmen, to be paid for after seven years. (Cecil notes that some payment should be made sooner.) They also ask for the loan of two armed ships and two smaller vessels for seven years to be restored or compensated for after that time. (Cecil queries this.) In return they will serve the Queen in war with two ships and two smaller vessels of their own, and will, after seven years, provide 500 footmen for six weeks in the year for Irish service.

They desire their lordships to consider the commodities that will arise to her majesty by royalties, rents, havens, customs, subjection of rebels, banishing of pirates and foreign practices for invasion, with the diminishing of her charges, if their petitions are granted.

- (c) [MARCH 1569]. 'A MEMORIALL OF DIVERS THINGES TO BE CONSIDERED UPON THE ARTICLES EXHIBITED BY CERTEN GENTLEMEN FOR THE SUBVIRTING OF THE REBELLS IN MONSAR' [*sic*]¹.

- (d) [MARCH 1569]. 'A BRIEF OF THINGES ALLOWABLE IN THE PETICONS MADE BY CERTEN GENTLEMEN OFFERING SERVICE IN IRELAND SET DOWNE BY YE LORDS OF THE COUNCILL'².

(1) They may be granted letters patent for the lands of the Irish lords named in (b). (2) They may also have the lands of

¹ SP 63/28, 9. Memoranda forming the basis for the next document.

² SP 63/28, 3. Thirty-one articles. Abstract.

those confederated with them, from the city of Cork to Kilmallock, and from Kilmallock to Blaskey. (3) The Queen may grant them other lands in co. Cork within seven years and also control of the fishing between Ross and the Sound of Blaskey. (4) Rents shall be paid for lands belonging to the Queen at present rates, or those paid within the last sixty years. The lands are also to be charged 1d. to 4d. Irish per acre per annum, the rents to begin one year after recovery. (5) They are to hold the lands from the Crown by knight service *in capite*. (6) The grantees must occupy their lands or forfeit them, and their heirs must enter within two years. (7) They may alienate up to two-thirds of the lands to English-born subjects, but lands alienated are not to include any castle or port town. (8) The Queen is to have rights of wardship. (9) If they build towns they are to have licences to incorporate them. (10) No prerogative of the Queen shall pass to them without 'special words', including ecclesiastical patronage, promotions, mines and royal fishes. (11) No ecclesiastical lands are to be comprised in the grants. (12) Houses and lands assigned by the Lord Deputy for the support of the President and Council, which are to be established, are excepted from the grants. (13) The Queen's sovereignty over the havens, customs and customs officers is to be reserved and she is to build castles, where necessary, paying reasonable compensation. (14) The Queen is to have half of any monies levied on strangers for licence to fish off the coasts. (15) Towns previously incorporated are to be excepted from the grant. (16) They are to have commissions to levy men in Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Gloucestershire and the counties of South Wales, and also to export provisions, according to the rate of persons inhabiting on their lands as certified by the Lord Deputy or the President and Council in Munster. (17) They are not to be compelled to serve outside the limits of their habitation. (18) They are to have licence to transport grain. (19) They are to be discharged of subsidies, etc., and to be free of custom for provisions for their households. (20) One of them is to be 'chieften', but they are to be subject to the laws of England. The 'chieften' and others is to have a commission to hear and despatch cases according to the laws. (21) The Lord Deputy may empower the 'chieften' to exercise martial

law against traitors, etc. (22) He may also be commissioned to punish, pardon, etc., except for high treason, wilfull murder and heresy. (23) For seven years the 'chieften', with the consent of the rest, may make ordinances not contrary to the laws of England. (24) Arms for 3,000 men may be sold to them, payment being made at the end of the third and seventh years. (25) They shall be lent two ships and two smaller vessels for seven years, if they are returned in good order or the value made good. (26) They are to serve the Crown in war with two ships and two smaller vessels. After seven years they shall supply 700 men for six weeks each year. (27) The grantees and those who inhabit there must be such as will obey the laws established in England and Ireland. (28) Every person with a freehold worth over £5 must repair periodically to the Lord Deputy or the President and Council of Munster to acknowledge his allegiance. (29) They are not to waste the woods without licence. (30) They are, hereafter, to have a first claim to any other lands recovered in counties Cork, Kerry or Limerick. (31) The enlargement or restriction of these articles is to be referred to the Lord Deputy.

(e) 12 APRIL 1569. 'THE ANSWERS OF THE GENTLEMEN PRE-TENDING TO SEARVE IN MOUNSTER'¹.

They accept, without qualification, articles no. 1, 5, 8, 14, 17, 20, 21, 22, 27, and 28. Many of their qualifications to the other articles are on minor points. With regard to nos. 2 and 3 they desire to have the grant for the three counties of Cork, Limerick and Kerry. They object to the double rent in no. 4. In respect of no. 6 they 'desire not to be as it were banished men', and wish to have leave to go and return to England, leaving a sufficient person in charge of their lands. They will agree to alienate land to none except those *descended* from Englishmen (7). They desire patronage of parsonages and to have mines except those of silver and gold (10). With regard to no. 12 they ask that the Lord Deputy should allot the lands soon—and not too much. They wish to have leave to export commodities, other than grain (18). For no. 26 they offer 500 men for six weeks' service in Munster or Connaught. They desire to have the woods with-

¹ SP 63/28, 5. Abstract.

out the restrictions of no. 29. They desire to have a preference in grants of lands in all Munster and not only in the three counties named in no. 30. They desire the Lord Deputy to signify his pleasure at convenient speed (31). They add requests that all existing titles in the lands should be extinguished and that they shall have rights of admiralty from Kinsale to Dingle.

- (f) [APRIL 1569]. 'THE HUMBLE PETICION & AUNSWERS OF THE THOSE GENTLEMEN THAT OFFER SERVICE IN IRELAND MADE TO THE BOOKE DELIVERED TO THEM BY THE QUEENES MAJESTES MOSTE HONOURABLE COUNCELL'¹.

(1) They desire the goods of all rebels, whose lands are forfeit, and all lands reputed to be theirs, to prevent conveyance of their lands to their friends. (4) They desire to have the fishing, free of rent, and to pay for the lands only such rents as have been paid within the last sixty years. (6) They promise not to depart from their lands for three years without licence, and, after that, desire to go or stay freely, leaving an Englishman, or a person descended from them, in charge. (19) They desire that if they pay any custom for merchandise exported from Ireland they shall not be charged again in England. (32) They desire that their petitions be referred to the Lord Deputy, but that when his decision is known that they be given time to meet to discuss his amendments. They also ask to have their grants confirmed by Act of Parliament in Ireland. (Most of the other answers are acceptances, but a few of the qualifications are not clear, in the absence of the articles to which they are an answer.)

- (g) [MAY 1569]. 'ARTICLES GATHERED OUT OF THE PETICONS MADE BY CERTEN GENTLEMEN OFFERING SERVICE IN IRLOND TO BE COMMUNICATED BY YE QUENES MAJESTES ORDRE TO HIR DEPUTE IN IRLAND'².

¹ SP 63/28, 61. Abstract. This is in answer to a further series of articles, which is apparently not extant.

² SP 63/28, 4. A summary of the points raised in items (a) to (f), with many corrections by Cecil.

APPENDIX II

THE KNOLLYS PIRACY OF 1579

(a) [*circa* MARCH 1579]¹.

... **A**LL this Coste of Normandy and brytany ar very full of soldiers Logged by Estape uppon the Contrey. Sum say they ar to attend Monsieur into England. other saye they are to geo with Monsieur de la Roche (who you sir [know] onse begged thes Ilandes of the kyng) Into the Indias. other say they ar to geo to supplant my Cossyn Frobysher but our brut is they would attempt thes Ilandes . . . And wher you wryt Sir that mr Knowels is hear he is not yett Com. but when his pleasur shalbe to passe hether, dout you not Sir but your Commandement shalbe fulfilled Every way to his Contentment and he shall use hear althinges accordyng to your pleasur, and for other his dealyngs they shalbe used nothing to your dishonor, and for my none parte ther is not a gentleman whom mor willyngly I would pleasur or serve then mr Henery Knowles, being unto you as he is & to me a most good & lovng frend.

(b) 5 APRIL 1579. DRAFT COMMISSION BY EDWARD, EARL OF LINCOLN, LORD HIGH ADMIRAL².

Case of Estatius Trevase, William Boguett, John de Palma Castilio, Fernandus de Zarette, Martin de Venero, John de Retana, etc., of Rouen, presented by John le Sira, merchant of France, in respect of two French ships, the *Maria*, patron

¹ SP 15/27A, 17. Unsigned and not addressed, this letter from one of the Channel Islands, probably Guernsey, is assigned in the *Calendar* to September 1581, and is conjecturally said to be from Louis de Vic to Sir Thomas Leighton. Extract.

² HCA 1/40. Latin. Abstract.

William Maleherbe, and the *Margarita*, patron Stephen Fichott, spoiled. Linen cloth, etc., was taken from the ships in January last when they were going from 'Portu de Gratiis in Normandia' towards 'portum Sancti Luce in Andolozia'. The Lord High Admiral orders all vice-admirals to look for the ships and goods, to make inventories when found, and to arrest and send for trial those suspected of being concerned in the piracy.

(c) 10 JULY 1579. TRAVACHI, ETC., v. THOMAS BICKTON¹.

Simon Langloyes, merchant of Rouen, deposes that the goods now under arrest belong to Eustace Travachy, William Boucquett, Fernando de Sarata and other French merchants and were bought by them in Rouen. With many other goods they were loaded about February last into hoys at Rouen and brought to Newhaven and placed in the *Margarett*, Elyn Fichett master, to be carried to Spain. After she had set out, some of her sailors came back to Rouen and said she had been carried away by an English ship whose master was Richard Dirifall and owner, mr. Knolly. On hearing that the goods were at Garnsey he was sent there by the merchants. He found Mr. Knolly there and his ship. The goods were being sold freely. The goods now under arrest were part of those shipped as he knows by the marks.

(d) 10 JULY 1579. EXAMINATION OF SIMON LANGLOYES².

He had procuration from Eustace Travachy and the whole company of merchants when he was in Garnsey. The goods were offered openly for sale. 'At which tyme he could deale nothinge to the contrary for that he had not then receavyd Comission from Cowrte. And when he had receavyd Comission, yet not esteeming the same there, they did also sell as before'. He saw Bickton attending, as his servant, on Mr. Knolly, but does not know how he got these cloths.

¹ HCA 13/24. Abstract.

² HCA 13/24. Abstract.

- (e) ARTICLES ON WHICH THOMAS BYCKTON, JOHN BURDEN, FRANCIS GRENE AND JOHN WEBSTER ARE TO BE EXAMINED AT THE REQUEST OF THE PLAINTIFFS¹.

They have confessed to the purchase of certain 'whited normandy Canvas' from some of the company of Mr. Knolly's ship. They are asked for particulars of the purchase and disposal of the cloth and whether they know 'that a ship of war belonging to Mr. Knolles, the captain, master and company of the same, did in March, April or May last take upon the high seas two French ships, one called la maria and the other la margarett,' and if they knew the cloth came from these ships.

- (f) FURTHER ARTICLES ON BEHALF OF THE PLAINTIFFS CONCERNING THE DISPOSAL OF THE GOODS².

- (g) NOTE.—The first mention of the case against Bickton is on 15 June 1579. On 21 November he was dismissed and allowed expenses. Webster is mentioned with him on 14 October, when he was committed to the Marshalsea for refusing to answer to the Libel, but he was dismissed on 18 June 1580³.

- (h) 18 JUNE 1580. FINAL SENTENCE IN FAVOUR OF JOHN WEBSTER⁴.

- (i) REQUESTS OF THE SPANISH MERCHANTS⁵.

The request of the Marchauntes of Spaine which were spoiled by Mr Henrie Knowlles his shipp is that yt maye please their honours to cause the same Mr Henrie Knowlles to make restitucon to them of all suche Lynnen clothe as is in esse wherebie the matter may be sooner annswered and as for the residewe that they shall lacke of their Cooplment such order maie be taken therein as in reason and Equitie shall requier / . . .

Endorsed:—v sanbitores y basurto

¹ HCA 24/50, no. 132 (another copy between nos. 164 and 165). Abstract.

² HCA 24/50, no. 34.

³ HCA 3/18.

⁴ HCA 24/51, no. 92.

⁵ SP 15/27A, 43. Extract.

- (j) NOTE OF THE SPOILES COMYTTEED NOW OF LATE UPON THE KINGE OF SPAINES SUBJECTES BY ENGLISHE SHIPPS¹.

In like wise Mr Henrye Knowlles toke another ship, where of was Mr Martyn Martyn of Flushing, laden with Sugar and spyces, and brought to the Isle of Wight, And notwithstanding the Ll. of the Counsell lettres for the deliverie thereof nothing hath ben don, but rather, do daylie spoile the goodes . . .

The Request of the Ambassadour is, that order maie be taken touching the foresaid spoiles, And that the goodes maie be put in safe Custodie till the matter be tryed accordinge to equitie and Justice and not to suffer suche open wronge to be done dailie to the kinges majestes Subjectes.

- (k) 3 OCTOBER 1579. A LETTER TO HENRY KNOLLYS FOR HIM TO APPEAR BEFORE THEM TO ANSWER FOR A SPOIL SUPPOSED TO BE DONE BY HIS SHIP ON A SPANISH SUBJECT².

- (l) 14 OCTOBER 1579. LIBEL ON BEHALF OF TRAVACHI, ETC., AGAINST FRANCIS GREENE AND JOHN WEBSTER³.

The defendants were on board the *Margaret* when she was taken by the *Armyn* and received spoils to the value of £500 which they refuse to restore or compound for. A schedule of 40 packs worth £33 each is attached.

- (m) 18 OCTOBER 1579⁴.

A letter to the Judg of the Admiraltie that where complaint hathe ben made by the Spanishe Ambassadour againste Mr. Henry Knollis of a depredacion supposed to be committed upon a subjecte of the said King, a matter wherewith he hathe ben alreadie made acquainted, as their Lordships understande, and where there hathe ben produced before their Lordships certain profes made in Gurnesey and Southampton, which appeare not to be suche as that they maie carrie anie manifest cause to charg the said Mr. Knollis with anie knowledge of the piracy committed, althoughe in some sort it maie be suspected that the

¹ SP 15/27A, 44. Extract.

³ HCA 24/50, no. 98. Abstract.

² APC 1578-80, p. 273.

⁴ APC 1578-80, p. 285.

facte maie have ben don by suche as had the charg of the said shippe in his absence: nevertheles to th'ende their Lordships maie be the better informed wherewith he is to be charged, [they] have thought good to referre unto his examinacion the said proofes, with anie such furder wittnesses as maie be brought fourthe by the said Baptista to testifie their knowledg in that matter, prayeng him to take some paines therein and to certifie their Lordships what he shall finde thereof, together with his opinion how farr the said Mr Knollis is to be charged therewith, whome for that pourpose their Lordships have sent to attende uppon him at suche tymes as he shall appointe.

(n) 28 OCTOBER 1579. DEPOSITION OF SIMON MILDRED OF BARKING¹.

He was present in the *Frauncys* about Shrovetide last when it took a French ship. Richard Aldersey, saying he was acting for the owner, took a half share. [At Guernsey] the mariners took their shares on land and some sold theirs. The rest was brought to the castle. He departed before the ship sailed for Southampton.

(o) ARTICLES FOR MR. YORKE ON BEHALF OF THE PLAINTIFFS².

(p) 22 DECEMBER 1579. EXAMINATION OF EDMUND YORCKE, LIEUTENANT OF THE ISLE OF GARNESEYE³.

The *Francys* alias the *Armyn* came into the Rode of Garneseye. It was reported to belong to Mr. Henrye Knoules. He did not know what quantity of goods came in it. 'There came to his handes sixe peeses of lynnene clothe contayninge 60 ells, or thereabowtes, whiche was geven this examinante bye one Alderseye one of the cumpanye of the said shippe, and aboute xxx ropes of bugells, xx payre of bells, and sixe paynted stories on clothe. And he sayethe that he gave leave to the Receaver of the Castle to unlade and receive into the same xvi or xvii peeces of ordenance, and aboute xviii barrells of powder, also aboute xxviii hogghheads and fattes of victuals as yt was reported, thre

¹ HCA 1/40. Abstract.

² HCA 24/50, no. 35.

³ HCA 13/24. Abstract.

or fower chestes with apparell & armor as theye also toulde this examinante. And other thinges to this examinates sighte there was not unladen, nor receaved into the Castell, but he sayethe in the Towne there was sould bye certen maryners both lynnene clothe and such like trifells bye the maryners as before. Whye this examinante receaved this ordenance, powder, and victualls into the Castell as before he will shewe & declare unto the Lordes of her Majestes Counsell, when he shalbe thereunto required'. Four or five thousand Newelande fishe, 'beinge victualls of ye said shippe', were unloaded by certain of the company 'in the Towne of Garneseye in St. Peters porte'. The chests, etc., were redelivered by the Receiver from the Castle to Richard Derifall and Richard Aldersaye. He knew the latter to have been Mr. Knowles' servant for many years, and to have attended on him in Garnesey.

(9) 24 DECEMBER 1579¹.

A letter to Mr Docter Dale and Mr Docter Lewys that wheras complaint hathe bene made by the Ambassadour of the Kinge of Spaine residint in this Realme in the behalfe of certaine Spanish merchauntes, the Kinges subjectes, againste Mr. Henry Knowlls, esquier, charging him to have receved in to his handes certaine goods belonging unto the saide marchauntes (wherof they weare spoyled uppon the seas by some pirates), and for that they are alreadie acquainted with the matter and have likewise hard the allegacions of the said Ambassadour, their Lordships thought yt good to require them by vertue of their letter to call before them the parties complaining, with all suche proofes and witnesses as they canne produce for testifying of the truthe, and to informe them selves thoroughlie of the trew state of the matter alledged against Mr. Knoulls they shall finde yt needfull to have him present to aunswere therunto, then to cause him likewise to come before them with such witnesses and proofes as he shall be hable to bring fourthe on his parte, and to use the like good meanes in the examynacion of his aunswere; and after they shall have informed them selves of the matters alledged on both partes, their Lordships pray them not only to send unto

¹ *APC* 1578-80, p. 351.

them the examynacions taken by them, but also to certifie their opynions and whole proceedings therin &c.

(r) 28 DECEMBER 1579. BERNARDINO DE MENDOZA TO PHILIP II¹.

[He has made complaints against legal delays to shield councillors.] When I showed them proofs that Conols [Knollys], kinsman of the Queen, had captured a ship of one of your Majesty's subjects, stored the goods in one of the Queen's castles and sold them there, they informed me that it would now be necessary to furnish the proofs again—after assuring me that on proof given they would cause the goods to be restored to the merchants. Their only object is for their witnesses to show their cleverness by saying that the proofs could not be found and so keep the lot, since the councillors themselves are the principal people who go about favouring the pirates.

(s) 12 JANUARY 1580. EXAMINATIONS OF ROBERT ROWE OF SOWTHAMPTON, HUSBANDMAN, AND WILLIAM MACKERELL OF SOWTHAMPTON, HUSBANDMAN, ON INTERROGATORIES ON BEHALF OF MARTYNE DE VENERO, JOHN DE RATANA, EUSTACE TRAVACHE AND OTHERS².

They say that towards the end of April, before Whitsuntide, the *Frauncys* arrived at Itchinge Ferrye, adjoining to Sowthampton, with Mr. Henry Knollyze captain, on board, coming it was said from Garnesey. There were various chests and packs on board. About three o'clock in the morning a week after its arrival (Rowe says two or three days) the ships company unloaded twenty-one packs and four chests into three carts and 'furniture for the souldiers of the shipp' into another. These were brought 'unto Mr. Lambertes house called the Chaunterye, distant from the said ferrye aboute two forlonges' by order of Mr. Knollys' servant. There 'the packes were layed in his gallerye, the chestes were put in a chese loft in the same house'. Both say Mr. Knollyze several times visited Mr. Lam-

¹ Navarrete, *Documentos inéditos*, xci, 445 (CSPSp. 1568-79, p. 611). Extract, translated.

² HCA 13/24. Abstract.

bert's house. Mrs. Lambert gave Rowe twelve ells of linen, and he knew of other linen bought from Mr. Knollyze's men. His master Mr. Lambert bought £12 worth and there were various 'smale tryfells, as bugells, horne ringes, knyves, and spectacles geven aboute to the servantes of the said Mr. Lambertes house'. Four carts, owned by Mr. Lambert, Palmer of Hill, Shuttell and Hillers of Nurslinge or Milbrooke, brought away twenty-one packs, two chests and a 'firkin with a lock uppon the toppe thereof and certen furniture' and conveyed them to Wallingford in Barkshire 'and from thence to a Lodge standinge in a parcke iii myles distant from that place', namely Newe ellme [Ewelme]. Two chests were left at Mr. Lambert's house and were carried away within the last two months.

(t) 12 JANUARY 1580. EXAMINATION OF ROBERT BARTON OF SOWTHAMPTON, YEOMAN¹.

He says there was brought from the ship by one Staunton and other of the ship's company three chests and one barrel. 'In which barrell there was certen apparell and other necessaryes, but what was in the chestes he cannot declare'. They were brought ashore to the Dolphin in Sowthampton about six in the evening three days after the ship arrived and were carried away the next day by Staunton and his company, he cannot say whither.

(u) 12 JANUARY 1580. EXAMINATION OF NICHOLAS PALMER OF SOWTHAMPTON, CARRIER².

About May last he was hired by 'Mr. Cottons Bayley Comptroller of Sowthampton called Robert a Lee', along with Hillers and Shuttell, to cart certain goods from Mr. Lambert's house situated near Southampton, to 'a place called Newe ellme Parck in Oxford shire as he takethe it, beinge iii myles distant from a place called Wallingford and ther delivered the same to one as he termed him selfe Mr. Knollyze his man whoe payed them for their paynes and soe dismissed them'. After they had started on the journey they were stopped by Holmes, the searcher of

¹ HCA 13/24. Abstract.

² HCA 13/24. Abstract.

Sowthampton, 'whoe arrestid and seasid the same goodes as yll gotten or not customed to her Majestes use, settinge thereon the broade arrowe head', but hearing from one of Knollyze's servants that they were Mr. Knollyze's goods he released them.

(v) 23 JANUARY 1580. EXAMINATION OF WALTER LAMBERT OF SOWTHAMPTON, GENT¹.

Mr. Henry Knollyze came from Garnesey about Whitsuntide in a ship of his own. On board were various packs, chests and hogsheads. In certain of them was linen and in others bedding. There was charcoal in one, bells, bugles, etc., in another and in two others 'certen calivers, burgenettes with other artillerye'. A day or two after the ship arrived Aldersey, Knollyze's servant, asked him for 'some convenient place to stowe and putt his Masters stuffe in' which he granted, and between midnight and nine in the morning they brought twenty-one packs and four chests from the ship, the former being stowed in his gallery and the latter in his cheese loft. No money was paid or disbursed. He heard that the victuals out of the ship, which were in casks, were put in a cellar of Mr. Holmes, searcher of Sowthampton, and the sails, tackling and cables in a cellar of Mr. Cottons, comptroller of the said town. Mr. Knollyze came several times to his house to view the goods. He bought £12 worth of linen from Knollyze's servants. Mr. Knollyze gave his wife fifty or sixty ells of linen to distribute part to the men who had taken pains about the packs, which she did. Four carts took the goods away of which he heard three were for Barckshire and one for London.

(w) 28 FEBRUARY 1580. EXAMINATION OF THOMAS HOLLMES OF SOWTHAMPTON, SEARCHER OF THAT PLACE².

In April last Knolles' ship arrived at Southampton, from which Mr. Henrye Knolles landed in a ship's boat. He knew of no goods brought in the said ship. 'He saythe That iii myles distaunt from Hampton this examinant chauncyd uppon the highe way to meete with iiii Cartes which then as it seemed came

¹ HCA 13/24. Abstract.

² HCA 13/24. Abstract.

from Sowthampton, laden to owtward shewe with shippe chestes and good store of munition for the sea togeather with some beddinge and other shipps furniture. In companie of which Cartes there was one terminge himself Aldersey and to be the said Mr. Knolles his man. At which tyme this examinant demaundayd to what place those cartes were bounde, from whence they cam and what they carryed. To whom annswere was made that they came from Mr. Lambertes howse of Sowthampton, and were bounde to Mr. Knolles his house in Barckshier. And because this examinant had some suspition that there might be somewhat incident to this examinant's office and to her Majesty, he made seasure uppon the said 4 Cartes Ladinges to her Majestes use: and neverthelesse did let the same passe with condicion [to] the said Aldersey that if there were any thinge dewe to her majesty and this examinant by way of forfeiture for want of custome the same should be furthcominge. And the said Aldersey aunswere that in trewth there was nothing in the said Cartes but shipps provision and furniture which as he said should be trewly delivered to his said master. And so they passid onwarde their journey'. Later he understood from Mr. John Baptist de Sanvitores that goods were landed from the ship and carted from Lambert's house to Barckshier and so he had a conference with Mr. Knolles, who 'aunsweryd that in trewth there was no goodes but shipps furniture and munition, and suche as he had carryed to sea with him for the furniture of bothe of his shipps'. At the request of some of the company of the ship he lent them his stable for the stowage of certain of their casks 'And there was in some part therof which this examinant sawe opened Pease beans, fishe, Porcke, Meale, gon powther and other necessaryes meate for a shippe Wherof there resteth no small portion to this day, and from tyme to tyme [they] do feche the same away as occasion serveth'.

(x) [1581]. THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR COMPLAINS OF PIRACIES¹.

In 1578 Henry Knollys with his ship, the *Arminia Alarias Francis* [*sic*], took from a vessel, going from Rouen to Seville,

¹ SP 94/1, 79A (CSP For. 1581-2, no. 475). Abstract.

forty bales of linen, valued at about 8000 crowns. No restitution has been made although it was proved that the linen was taken to East Itchenferry.

(y) 21 FEBRUARY 1582. DEPOSITION OF HUGH EMERYE OF SOUTHAMPTON, SHOEMAKER¹.

He knows of a French ship laden with wines brought to Cawshott by Captain Derifall. He was on board once and Derifall gave him a hogshead of wine. Derifall delivered to William Packinson, deputy of Cawshott Castle eleven or twelve tun of the wines which were lodged in the castle.

(z) PETITION OF RICHARD ALDERSAY TO WALSINGHAM².

To the right honorable Sir Frauncis Walsingham knight principall Secretarie to her majestie &c /

Yt maie please your honour to understande, wheras your humble Oratour Richard Aldersaie did serve mr Henry knowles when he went to the Seas in the companie of Sir hunffrey Gilbert. At which tyme certein spanish goodes as yt is alleadged weare taken by some that weare in mr knowles shipp & had the guiding therof which cause the Spaniardes did so maliciously prosequut against mr knowles although he was not in this Shipp when the said goodes weare taken, that they procure her majestie not to suffer him to enjoye his owne Cuntreie but was forced to departe the realme in great disgrace of her majestie through their extreame dealing with her majestie against him. And so never left prosequuting against him untill he was brought to his grave, to the great greiffe of his Frendes & no lesse losse to his Cuntrey, before the course of the lawe executed upon one dryrvall who was Captaine of the said shipp /. The lyke Justice not had in Spaine for the losse of many mennes lyves subjectes to our queene of England and confiscacon of their goodes without eyther recompence of Justice But culling all their cruell dealinge by their Inquisicon all this notwithstandinge one Alonso a Spaniard dwelling in Fanchurche streete procured your Supplyaunt to be aprehended by a mes-

¹ HCA 1/41. Abstract.

² SP 12/151, 75.

senger to his utter undoinge & will have him eyther to declare what is become of the goodes which came to his masters handling which he can not doo, or els lye in prison untill he will answer the goodes because he sayth he hath made proffe that your Oratour receaved the same owt of the said Shipp.

Yt maie please your honour therfore to sende for the said Alonso & to cause him to staie troublinge of your poore Oratour any more in this behalf. Consideringe that the master of the Shipp hath bin executed mr knowles also deade through them maliciously prosecutinge their suite against him and also that your poore Oratour was but a servaunt & had no more of the goodes then they have recoverd alreadie against him. And in so doinge your honour shall doo a most charitable deede And binde your poore Supplyaunt to praie to almightie god to graunt good successe to all your accions. /

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